

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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CONTENTS

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DENT, ROBERT W.—John Webster's Debt to William Alexander, . . .	73
HEITNER, ROBERT.—Concerning Lessing's Debt to Diderot, . . .	82
SEHRT, EDWARD H.—Alchymist's 'Ship', . . .	89
ERHARDT-SIEBOLD, ERIKA von.—Old English Riddle 23, Dow, OE 'BOGA', . . .	93
ERHARDT-SIEBOLD, ERIKA von.—Old English Riddle 12, . . .	97
HATFIELD, HENRY C.—Chacon and 'Der Kholdershrank', . . .	100
ALLEN, DON CAMERON.—Three Notes on Donne's Poetry with a Side Glance at "Othello", . . .	108
SHAARER, M. A.—The "Vachans Birds" in 'The Alchemist', . . .	109
ELLRODT, R.—Sir John Harrington and Louise Ebroe, . . .	109
BALDWIN, T. W.—Shakespeare's Apollonian Man . . .	111
PHILLAS, P. G.—Massinger and the 'Commedia dell' arte', . . .	113
BROWN, CALVIN S.—Lucan, Bacon, and Hostages to Fortune, . . .	114
ALLEN, DON CAMERON.—Milton's <i>Buciria</i> , . . .	115
CORDASCO, FRANCESCO.—Smollett's German Medical Degree, . . .	117
BOLL, ERNEST.—'At Mrs. Lippincott's' and 'Tristram Shandy', . . .	119
JONES, FREDERICK L.—A Shelley and Mary Letter to Claire, . . .	121

REVIEWS—

FERNAND MORET, <i>Manuel de l'anglais du Moyen Age des origines au XIV siècle. [Stefan Hinemann]</i> . . .	123
AUGUST CLOOS, <i>Die Freien Rhythmen in der Deutschen Lyrik. [Ernst Feiss.]</i> . . .	127
REINHARD BUCHWALD, <i>Goethe und das deutsche Schicksal. [Ernst Feiss]</i> . . .	130
ERWIN ACKERKNECHT, <i>Gottfried Keller, Geschichte seines Lebens; HER- MANN BOBSCHESTEIN, Gottfried Keller, Grundzüge seines Lebens und Werkes. [Ernst Feiss]</i> . . .	132
H. A. MANN, <i>Stefan George und THOMAS MANN. [Oskar Seidlin.]</i> . . .	134
A. H. GILBERT, <i>The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson. [S. O. Chow.]</i> . . .	136
WOLFGANG KATZER, <i>Das sprachliche Kunstwerk. [Arno Schönbauer.]</i> . . .	138
PETER JENSENSEN, <i>Über die Herkunft der Nordfriesen. [Arno Schönbauer.]</i> . . .	140
WALTER MÜSCH, <i>Tragische Literaturgeschichte. [Wolfgang Paulsen.]</i> . . .	141
BRIEF MENTION: JOSEF KUWNA, <i>Einführung in die Poetik</i> ; E. S. Oliver (ed.), Herman Melville: <i>Pieces Tales</i> ; RUDOLF KIRK (ed.), <i>Hecate upon Earth and Characters of Virtues and Vices</i> by JOSEPH HALL, . . .	142
CORRESPONDENCE: <i>Notes on the Earthquake in Romeo and Juliet</i> , . . .	144

MODERN LANGUAGE NOTES

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the internal causes leading to the substitution of romantic for classic tragedy, the extent to which Voltaire and others employed tragedy as a vehicle for political and religious propaganda, the author also discusses the actors and actresses of the Comédie Française, their theatre, their methods, their finances, and such striking figures as Michel Baron, Adrienne Le Couvreur, Dumesnil, Clairon and Le Kain.

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JOHN WEBSTER'S DEBT TO WILLIAM ALEXANDER

On the evidence of parallels presented below, William Alexander may now be added to the list of writers to whom Webster's verbal debt is known to be large.¹ Relatively little of Webster's borrowing has been traced to contemporary poets and even less, on the verbal level, to his fellow dramatists. Possibly Webster thought it impolitic to plunder his fellow workmen; certainly it was to his advantage to seek material less familiar to his audience than that in currently popular plays. But Alexander's Senecan tragedies,² published in 1607, had never been staged and were, at the same time, filled with the sententious matter which so frequently attracted Webster. Although the sententious element in Webster's plays is negligible in comparison with that in Alexander's, it is nevertheless striking, and much of it is drawn from Alexander.

The probability of a common source for the parallels cited below is slight. Frequently the language is too peculiarly English to admit of separate borrowing from a foreign source, classical or contemporary. Compare, for example, Flamineo's statement:

¹ See the commentary to the edition of Webster by F. L. Lucas (London, 1927) and Marcia Lee Anderson's "Webster's debt to Guazzo," *SP* xxxvi, 192-205 (April, 1939). Mr. Lucas' text of the plays is used in this article.

² *The Tragedy of Croesus*, *The Tragedy of Darius*, *The Alexandraean Tragedy* and *The Tragedy of Julius Caesar* were printed in London under the collective title of *The Monarchicke Tragedies*. Subsequent quotations are from *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, edited by L. E. Kastner and H. B. Charlton (Manchester, 1921-9). I have given the 1607 reading whenever it differed from that of the 1637 edition, their basic text. Obvious abbreviations are used for the titles. The lines are numbered continuously throughout each play.

Of all deaths the violent death is best,
 For from our selves it steales our selves so fast
 The paine once apprehended is quite past, (WD 5. 6. 117-9)

with that of Caesar:

O! of all deaths, unlook'd for death is best:
 It from our selves doth steale our selves so fast,
 That even the minde no feareful forme can see,
 Then is the paine ere apprehended past. (JC 4. 2. 1988-91)

Unless Alexander's method of composition was strangely like Webster's own, such parallels surely demonstrate the latter's indebtedness. With very few exceptions, none of which is pertinent to this article, the editors of Alexander have discovered no direct verbal imitation of earlier writers on his part. Similarly, for the passages to be presented, the editors of Webster have rarely noted any possible source. If the two writers were drawing upon a common source, moreover, it seems probable that other poetry of Alexander, non-dramatic but sententious, would offer further parallels to Webster; I find none.

The White Devil is the more sententious of Webster's tragedies, and every fairly definite borrowing from Alexander is expressed, at least in part, in a rhymed couplet, which emphasizes its sententious content. By the time Webster composed *The Duchess of Malfi*, however, his enthusiasm for couplet wisdom had apparently diminished, and a smaller proportion of the material which seems to parallel Alexander is in couplet form. Here the sententious quality of the original is more often disguised by Webster's dramatic treatment. When the Duchess tells her brother of "a scandalous report" touching her honour, Ferdinand reassures her:

. . . my fix'd love
 Would strongly excuse, extenuate, nay deny
 Faults, were they apparent in you. (DM 3. 1. 62-4)

Webster has particularized Alexander's impersonal

"Love cannot finde an imperfection forth,
 "But doth excuse, extenuate, or deny,
 "Faults (where it likes) with shadowes of no worth.
 (AT 4. 1. 1994-6)

The poetic form of *The Monarchicke Tragedies* necessitated alteration by Webster for his purposes. Except for some of the

choruses, these tragedies are written in alternately rhyming decasyllabic lines, normally end-stopped. Any borrowed material Webster had to convert into couplets or blank verse—he turned none into prose. Most commonly he has condensed Alexander's quatrain into a couplet or capped a single line of his source to form a couplet. About half of the time he has retained Alexander's rhyme. In some of the weakest parallels cited below, Webster has used blank verse; if Alexander is his source, Webster has altered his original more freely in these instances.³

The following pages present, in the order of their appearance in Webster, all the Alexander-Webster parallels I have discovered. The reader may thus observe in what portions of *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi* the dramatist concentrated his borrowing.⁴ Some of the parallels, taken alone, seem too weak to deserve consideration,⁵ but when, as in the last scene of *The White Devil*, the Webster half stands close to other matter more definitely drawn from Alexander, the possibility of borrowing is somewhat strengthened.

The items which I consider most clearly legitimate parallels are marked with an asterisk, but the reader may judge for himself.

THE WHITE DEVIL

2. 2. 55-6. *Conjurer:*

JC 5. 1. 2643-50.

Both flowers and weedes, spring "As in fine fruits, or weedes, fat
when the Sunne is warme, earth abounds,

*And great men do great good, or "Even as the Labourers spend, or
else great harme.* spare their paine,

³ This is particularly true in *The Duchess of Malfi*. If the parallels to this play which Mr. Lucas has cited from the rhymed poetry of Donne and Chapman are true sources for Webster, a similar freedom in their conversion to blank verse occurs.

⁴ Webster's concentration of borrowing from Alexander in the last scenes of *The White Devil* may be compared with that from Guazzo. See Miss Anderson's article, cited above.

⁵ It is possible, of course, that the true source (if there is one) for Webster's half of these weaker parallels has not yet been discovered, just as a few passages in *The White Devil* which have been thought to be possible faint echoes of the *Arcadia* now appear to have their source in Alexander. See Mr. Lucas' commentary on 5. 1. 38-9; 5. 4. 117; 5. 6. 180-1; and the parallels cited from Alexander below.

*The passage in Alexander, though the analogy is not exactly the same, may clarify that of Webster.

4. 3. 60-1. *Francisco*:
The hand must act to drowne the
passionate tongue,
I scorne to weare a sword and
prate of wrong.
4. 3. 105-6. *Monticelso*:
I know that thou art fashion'd for
all ill,
*Like dogges, that once get bloud,
they'l ever kill.
- *4. 3. 154-5. *Lodovico*:
There's but three furies found in
spacious hell;
But in a great mans breast three
thousand dwell.
- *5. 1. 38-9. *Flamineo*:
Glories, like glow-wormes, afarre
off shine bright
But lookt to neare, have neither
heat nor light.⁷
- *5. 3. 204-7. *Flamineo*:
Miserie of Princes,
That must of force bee censur'd by
their slaves!
Not onely blam'd for doing things
are ill,
But for not doing all that all men
will.
- "The greatest sprits (disdaining
vulgar bounds)
"Of what they seek the highest
height must gaine;
"They (that bright glory may be
so enjoy'd)
"As onely borne to be in action still,
"Had rather be (then idle) ill em-
ploy'd:
"Great sprits must do great good,
or then great ill;
- JC 3. 1. 1173-4.
Let other men lament, we must
revenge,
I scorne to beare a sword, and to
complaine.
- AT 4. 2. 2184.
(As dogges that once get bloud,
would alwayes kill)
- AT 5. 1. 2625-6.
"Some but three furies faine in all
the hels;
"And ther's three thousand in one
great mans brest.
- AT 5. 3. 3428-9. *Chorus*:
"Some things afarre doe like the
Glow-worme shine,
"Which look't too neere, have of
that light no signe.
- AT 5. 1. 2723-6.
". . . (A prince) for every action
that is his
"The censure of a thousand tongues
must have,
"Not onely damn'd for doing things
amisse,
"But for not doing all that all men
crave;

⁷ Repeated in *The Duchess of Malfi*, 4. 2. 141-2. The glow-worm is frequently used by the Elizabethans for comparison, but this passage in Alexander concerning the vanity of ambition provides the closest parallel to Webster that I have seen.

- 5.4.103-4. *Cornelia*:
His wealth is sum'd, and this is
all his store:
*This poore men get; and great men
get no more.*
- 5.4.116-7. *Flamineo*:
Oft gay and honour'd robes those
tortures trie,
"Wee thinke cag'd birds sing,
when indeed they crie."
*5.6.117-9. *Vittoria*:
Of all deaths the violent death is
best,
For from our selves it steales our
selves so fast
The paine once apprehended is
quite past.
- *5.6.137-8. *Vittoria*:
No fitter offering for the infernall
furies
Then one in whom they raig'n'd
while hee was living.
- 5.6.180-1. *Flamineo*:
Let all that doe ill, take this
precedent:
*Man may his Fate foresee, but not
prevent.*
- 5.6.182-3. *Flamineo*:
And of all Axiomes this shall winne
the prise,
*Tis better to be fortunate then
wise.
- AT* 1.1.75-6. . . .
For some few foots of Earth to be
a grave,
Which meane men get, and great
men get no more?
- AT* 4.2.2389-90.
As birds (whose cage of gold the
sight deceives)
Do seeme to sing, whil'st they but
waile their state:
JC 4.1.1988-91.
O! of all deaths, unlook'd for death
is best:
It from our selves doth steale our
selves so fast,
That even the minde no fearefull
forme can see,
Then is the paine ere apprehended
past;
- Croesus* 4.1.1469-70.
No fitter offering for th'infernall
Furies,
Then one in whom they raig'n'd,
while as he stood,
- Coresus* 3.2.1373-4. *Chorus*:
"Man may his fate foresee,
"But not shunne heavens decree.
- AT* 3.1.1107.
("It's better to be fortunate, then
wise.)

*The complaint of Alexander the Great's ghost makes clearer the less appropriate line in *Cornelia's* lament for *Marcello*.

*The parallel in the *Arcadia* cited by Mr. Lucas contrasts "sing" and "crie" as does Webster:

The house is made a very lothsome cage
Wherein the bird doth never sing, but cry.

The passage in Alexander, however, which is immediately preceded by a discussion of the "robes" and "purple" worn by great but miserable men, accounts better for the entire couplet.

5. 6. 250-1. *Flaminceo*: *Croesus* 1. 1. 65 . . . 70 . . . 72-3.
 "Prosperity doth bewitch men "Vaine foole, that thinkes soliditie
 seeming cleere, to finde
 "But seas doe laugh, shew white, . . .
 when Rocks are neere. "The fome is whitest, where the
 Rocke is neare,
 . . .
 "The greatest danger oft doth least
 appeare.
 "Their seeming blisse, who trust in
 frothy showes,

5. 6. 258. *Flaminceo*: *Darius* 1. 1. 177 . . . 182. *Chorus*:
 Noe, at my selfe I will begin and Who on himselfe too much depends,
 end.¹⁰ . . .
 But at himselfe beginnes, and ends,

5. 6. 259-60. *Flaminceo*: *Croesus* 4. 2. 2080-4. *Chorus*:
 "While we looke up to heaven wee The Heau'ns that thinke we do them
 confound wrong
 "Knowledge with knowledge. To trie what in suspence still hings,
 This crosse upon us justly brings:
 With knowledge, knowledge is confus'd,
 And growes a grieve ere it be long;
- *5. 6. 261-2. *Vittoria*: *AT* 5. 1. 2767-70.
 O happy they that never saw the Then when that I conceide with
 Court, grieve of heart,
 "Nor ever knew great Man but by The miseries that proper were to
 report. Court,
 I thought them happie who (retir'd
 apart)
 Could never know such things, but
 by report.
- *5. 6. 273-4. *JC* 2. 2. 1013-4. *Chorus*:
 "This busie trade of life appeares "Ease comes with ease, where all
 most vaine, by paine buy paine,
 "Since rest breeds rest, where all "Rest we in peace, by warre let
 seeke paine by paine. others raigne.

¹⁰ *Darius*, better constructed but less laden with commonplaces than *The Alexandraean Tragedy*, is generally considered the best of Alexander's attempts at drama. Yet this is the only parallel presented from that play, and here the meaning in Alexander is quite different from that in Webster. For Webster's needs the worst of the plays proved the most fruitful, and the heavily sententious *Alexandraean Tragedy* contains almost twice as many parallels to Webster as do the other plays combined.

THE DUCHESS OF MALFI

1. 1. 12-16. *Antonio*:

... a Princes Court
Is like a common Fountaine,
whence should flow
Pure silver-droppes in generall:
But if't chance
Some curs'd example poyson't neere
the head,
"Death, and diseases through the
whole land spread.

Croesus 2. 2. 594-8.

"The King decores the Court, the
Court the Land;
"And as a drop of poyson spent
alone,
"Infected fountains doth with
venome fill,
"So mighty states may tainted be
by one:
"A vitious Prince is a contagious
ill.

1. 1. 26-9. *Antonio*:

... he rayles at those things which
he wants,
Would be as leacherous, covetous,
or proud,
Bloody, or envious, as any man,
If he had meanes to be so:

AT 5. 2. 2932-4.

"We, what we wish for most, seeme
to mislike,
"And oft of others doe the course
disprove,
"Whilst we want only meanes to
doe the like.

*1. 1. 175-9. *Antonio*:

He speakes with others Tongues,
and heares mens suites,
With others Eares: will seeme to
sleepe o'th bench
Onely to intrap offenders, in their
answeres;
Doombes men to death, by informa-
tion,
Rewards, by heare-say.

AT 2. 1. 570-1 . . . 577-8.

"Whilst he who rul'd, still needing
to be rul'd,
"Spoke but with others tongues,
heard with their eares.
...
"Who of himselfe cannot discerne
a crime:
"But doomes by informations men
to death,

1. 1. 213-4. *Antonio*:

All her particular worth growes to
this somme:

AT 3. 2. 1319.

Staine of times past, and light of
times to come,

*She staines the time past: lights
the time to come—¹¹

1. 1. 286-7. *Bosola*:

... these curs'd gifts would make
You a corrupter, me an impudent
traitor,¹²

AT 5. 1. 2791-2.

I told, that such a summe but serv'd
to make
Him a corrupter, me corrupted
thought,

¹¹ Repeated, with slight alteration, in *A Monumental Column*, 1. 278.

¹² This weak parallel is perhaps strengthened by another to the same passage in Alexander; see below, *DM* 5. 1. 23-4.

*3. 1. 62-4. *Ferdinand*:

. . . my fix'd love
Would strongly excuse, extenuate,
nay deny
Faults, were they apparant in you:

AT 4. 1. 1994-6.

"Love cannot finde an imperfection
forth,

"But doth excuse, extenuate, or
deny,

"Faults (where it likes) with
shadowes of no worth:

3. 2. 43-7. *Antonio*:

. . . This was *Paris'* case
And he was blind in't, and there
was great cause:
For how was't possible he could
judge right
Having three amorous Goddesses in
view,
And they starcke naked?

JC 1. 1. 59-60.

No wonder too though one all judge-
ment lost,

Who had three naked Goddesses in
sight;¹³

*3. 2. 369-70. *Duchess*:

Past sorrowes, let us moderately
lament them,
For those to come, seeke wisely,
to prevent them.

Croesus 3. 1. 1019-22.

"We should such past misfortunes
pretermit,

"At least no more immoderately
lament them,

"And as for those which are but
comming yet,

"Use ordinary meanes for to pre-
vent them.

3. 4. 48-9. *1st Pilgrim*:

Fortune makes this conclusion
generall,

"All things do helpe th'unhappy
man to fall.

AT 4. 1. 1931.

"All things must helpe th'unhappy
men to fall.

3. 5. 112-3. *Duchess*:

When Fortunes wheele is over-
charg'd with Princes,
The waight makes it move swift.

AT 5. 1. 2836-8.

"The wheele of fortune still must
slipperie prove,

"And chiefly when it burdened is
with kings,

"Whose states as weightiest most
must make it moue.

4. 2. 229-31. *Duchess*:

. . . Tell my brothers,
That I perceiue death, (now I am
well awake)

*Best guift is, they can give, or
I can take—

AT 4. 2. 2163-4.

Fit gifts for her to give, for me to
take,

Since she exceeds in hate, and I
in grieve.¹⁴

¹³ Juno is complaining about the judgment of Paris.

¹⁴ In Alexander, a queen grieving over the corpse of her murdered

4. 2. 349-51. *Bosola*:

. . . I stand like one
That long hath ta'ne a sweet, and
golden dreame.
I am angry with my selfe, now
that I wake.

AT 4. 2. 2357-62.

O never were my thoughts enlarg'd
till now
To marke my selfe, and quintessence
my minde:
For, long (a prey to pride) I know
not how,
A mist of fancies made my judge-
ment blinde.
As those who dreame sweet dreames,
awakt, at last,
Do finde their errour when their
eyes finde light:

5. 1. 23-4. *Pescara*:

. . . this is such a suit,
Nor fit for me to give, nor you to
take.

AT 5. 1. 2791-3.

I told, that such a summe but serv'd
to make
Him a corrupter, me corrupted
thought,
And foule for him to give, for me
to take,

*5. 3. 70-2. *Antonio*:

Though in our miseries, Fortune
have a part,
Yet, in our noble sufferings, she
hath none—
Contempt of paine, that we may
call our owne.

AT 4. 2. 2455-7.

"For, in our actions Fortune hath
some part,
"But in our sufferings, all things
are our owne:
"Loe, now I loath the world. . .

5. 4. 63-4. *Bosola*:

We are meerely the Starres tennys-
balls (strooke, and banded
Which way please them)—¹⁵

AT 5. 1. 2577-8.

"I thinke the world is but a Tennis-
court,
"Where men are tossde by fortune
as her balls.

5. 4. 75-8. *Antonio*:

. . . In all our Quest of Great-
nes . . .

AT 5. 3. 3234-7.

"Yet foolish worldlings toss'd with
endlesse care,

husband, is welcoming the sword, cord, and poison given to speed her own suicide. In Webster, the Duchess, who believes her husband has been recently murdered, has just denied the terror of the cord dangled before her by Bosola.

¹⁵ For this fairly commonplace comparison a passage in the *Arcadia* may be the source. Mr. Lucas notes: "Cf. . . *Arcadia*, v (*Wks.* II, 177): '(mankind) are but like tennisbals, tossed by the racket of the hyer powers' (part of a sentence copied also below in v. 5. 125 ff.)."

(Like wanton Boyes, whose pas-
time is their care)
We follow after bubbles, blowne in
th'ayre.

Pleasure of life, what is't?¹⁴

5. 5. 112-3. *Cardinal*:

. . . let me
Be layd by, and never thought of.

"(Though at too deare a rate)
would still buy breath,
"And following after feathers
thrown through th'aire,
"Like life (though wretch'd) more
then a happy death.

Croesus 4. 1. 1561-2.

Let my name perish in my bodies
ash,
And all my life be as a thought
unacted.

THE DEVIL'S LAW-CASE

*4. 2. 672-3. *Ercole*:

Mountaines are deformed heaps,
sweld up aloft;
Vales wholsomer, though lower, and
trod on oft.

AT 5. 3. 3362-5.

"Thus, though the mountaines make
a mighty show,
"They are but barren heapes borne
up aloft,
"Where Plains are pleasant still,
though they lye low,
"And are most fertile too, though
trod on oft.

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CONCERNING LESSING'S INDEBTEDNESS TO DIDEROT

One statement made by Lessing shortly before his death has, more than anything else, encouraged scholars to assign great importance to the literary relationship between him and Diderot. In the *Vorrede* to the second edition of *Das Theater des Herrn Diderot* (published for the *Ostermesse*, 1781) Lessing paid the French *philosophe* this remarkable tribute:

so sehe ich nicht, warum ich mich einer Anforderung weigern sollte, die mir Gelegenheit gibt, meine Dankbarkeit einem Manne zu bezeugen, der an

¹⁴ Webster is here much closer to Henry Crosse, *The School of Pollicie* (1605), sig. G2v: "He that followes pleasure, is as the spider that laboureth all day to intangle a flie, or like a wanton boy that blowes vp feathers into the aire, and spends the time in running vp and downe after them; for what is pleasure but a puffe?" Probably Webster and Crosse, and perhaps Alexander as well, were drawing upon a common source.

der Bildung meines Geschmackes so grossen Anteil hat. Denn es mag mit diesem beschaffen sein, wie es will: so bin ich mir doch zu wohl bewusst, dass er, ohne *Diderots* Muster und Lehren, eine ganz andere Richtung würde bekommen haben. Vielleicht eine eigenere: aber doch schwerlich eine, mit der am Ende mein Verstand zufriedener gewesen wäre.¹

Had Lessing substituted Aristotle's name for Diderot's, this statement would occasion little surprise and no difficulty. Coming after all Lessing's references to Aristotle, and after his notable deference in regard to the *Poetics*, such an expression of gratitude and indebtedness would be taken as a matter of course. But where can one find evidence to support, or to explain, the statement as it stands?

Diderot and Lessing never met and never corresponded with each other. References to Diderot are relatively meager in Lessing's works. To be sure, Lessing translated Diderot's two best-known plays, *Le Fils naturel* and *Le Père de famille*, along with their accompanying dialogues and treatise on dramatic poetry, but this was just one among many translations of other authors which he made. Lessing read only a few of Diderot's numerous works: apparently nothing beyond the *Lettre sur les aveugles*, the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*, the *Théâtre*, and the early novel, *Les Bijoux indiscrets*. I do not wish, however, to minimize the significance which Diderot had for Lessing. Lessing was very much struck with Diderot's thoughts and the personality which shone through his works. In the *Vorrede* which introduced the first edition of the translation of the *Théâtre* (1760), Lessing spoke of Diderot as the most philosophical mind to have been concerned with the theater since Aristotle himself. In the *Literaturbriefe* Lessing mentioned that Diderot was "unter den neuen unstreitig der beste französische Kunstrichter."² Diderot's thoughts about natural dialogue, about the role of history in tragedy, about virtue, about pantomime, about propriety on the stage, about straightforward exposition without surprises and *coups de théâtre*, about the tragedy of common life and the tender comedy, about, in a word, the middleclass drama: all these met with Lessing's approval and

¹ G. E. Lessings sämtliche Schriften. hrsgb. von Karl Lachmann, 3te, aufs neue durchgesehene und vermehrte Auflage besorgt durch Franz Muncker, Stuttgart, Leipzig, Berlin, 1886-1924, VIII, 288. (To be referred to hereafter by the initials "LM.")

² LM, VIII, 230. (103. *Literaturbrief*).

indeed generally represented ideas which Lessing himself held, in a less definite form, before he translated the *Théâtre*. But, favorable to a high evaluation of the Diderot-Lessing relationship as these matters are, they tend to pale in comparison with the fulsomeness of the compliment quoted above. Moreover, one must temper them with remembrance of the fact that Lessing did not always agree with and praise Diderot. Discussion of Lessing's disagreement over the question of what characters are suitable for tragedy and comedy, and over the question of Diderot's "conditions"-theory,³ easily takes up more space in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* than all the commendatory references to Diderot throughout Lessing's works.

Therefore, to some writers on the subject, the facts have not been sufficient in themselves. Certain overstatements, certain embellishments of the truth have found their way into otherwise most careful and valuable accounts of the careers of Lessing and Diderot. The underlying reason for these subconsciously conceived errors is that discrepancy between the words of Lessing's tribute and the evidence to be found in his writings. Thus John Morley said in his *Diderot and the Encyclopedists*: "Lessing . . . repeatedly said that without the impulse of Diderot's principles and illustrations his own taste would have taken a different direction."⁴ One wishes that Lessing had said this "repeatedly"; then one could place more emphasis on what he said. Actually, the statement, or anything similar to it, exists in only the one instance. A more serious slip is the one made by Harold Laski, in *Studies in Law and Politics*: "Yet his [Diderot's] service to aesthetic theory was perhaps even more important. Here, indeed, it would be sufficient to quote the remark of Lessing that, without Diderot's contribution, he could not have written the *Laokoon*. . ."⁵ Of course, no such remark by Lessing has been recorded. There is no mention whatever of Diderot in connection with the *Laokoon*. No doubt what Mr. Laski had in mind, in a garbled version, was again Lessing's final tribute to Diderot.

³ Diderot wanted to do away with abstract characters in comedy and to replace them with more genuinely human characterizations which would include the whole background of family, profession, and position in life, i. e., a condition.

⁴ 2nd edition, London, 1923, I, 277.

⁵ London, 1932, p. 59.

One is inclined to feel very strongly that Diderot did have a part in the genesis of *Laokoon*. In the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*, which Lessing read early in his career,⁶ Diderot had already formulated one of the basic tenets of the *Laokoon*, namely: "Le beau moment du poète n'est pas toujours le beau moment du peintre."⁷ In the *Aeneid*, Diderot pointed out, the figure of Neptune arising from the waves is a noble conception. In a painting, Neptune's head looking calmly above the waters would have the appearance of being simply cut off. He also described at some length the different ways in which three artists, a painter, a poet, and a musician, would treat the subject of a dying woman. This is striking enough. But a comparison of the *Essai sur la peinture* with the *Laokoon* reveals the following nearly parallel statements:

Le Laocoon souffre, il ne grimace pas; cependant la douleur cruelle serpente depuis l'extrémité de son orteil jusqu'au sommet de sa tête. Elle affecte profondément sans inspirer de l'horreur. Faites que je ne puisse ni arrêter mes yeux, ni les arracher de dessus votre toile.⁸

Der Meister arbeitete auf die höchste Schönheit, unter den angenommenen Umständen körperlichen Schmerzes. Dieser, in aller seiner entstellenden Heftigkeit, war mit jener nicht zu verbinden. Er musste ihn also herabsetzen; er musste Schreien in Seufzen mildern; nicht weil das Schreien eine unedle Seele verrät, sondern weil es das Gesicht auf eine ekelhafte Weise verstellt. Denn man reisse dem Laokoon in Gedanken nur den Mund auf, und urteile . . . nun ist es eine hässliche, eine abscheuliche Bildung geworden, von der man gern sein Gesicht verwendet, weil der Anblick des Schmerzes Unlust erregt, ohne dass die Schönheit des leidenden Gegenstandes diese Unlust in das süsse Gefühl des Mitleids verwandeln kann.⁹

Diderot said further:

Le peintre n'a qu'un instant; et il ne lui est pas permis d'embrasser deux instants que deux actions.¹⁰

Chaque action a plusieurs instants; mais je l'ai dit, et je le répète, l'artiste n'en a qu'un, dont la durée est celle d'un coup d'œil.¹¹

And of course Lessing said, in a key sentence:

Die Malerei kann in ihren coexistierenden Compositionen nur einen ein-

⁶ Cf. the June issue, 1751, of *Das Neueste aus dem Reiche des Witzes*, LM, IV, 415-423.

⁷ *Oeuvres complètes de Diderot*, éd. par J. Assézat et Maurice Tourneux, Paris, 1875-1877, I, 388.

⁸ *Ibid.*, x, 488.

⁹ *Laokoon*, II. LM, IX, 17.

¹⁰ Assézat-Tourneux, x, 497.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 499.

zigen Augenblick der Handlung nutzen, und muss daher den prägnantesten wählen, aus welchem das Vorhergehende und Folgende am begreiflichsten wird.¹²

On the strength of such statements Blümner concluded that no one, with the exception of Mendelssohn, had come closer to Lessing's thoughts on poetry and painting than Diderot.¹³ But the *Essai*, although written approximately at the same time as the *Laokoon* (1765), was not published until 1796, and it is hardly likely that Lessing would have seen it before in manuscript. Accordingly, Diderot's role in the genesis of *Laokoon* loses prestige, Mr. Laski's statement becomes incongruous, and Werner Leo's opinion that the *Essai sur la peinture* deeply influenced Lessing¹⁴ seems unsubstantiated.

It is not, however, in *Laokoon*, but in the introduction and popularization of bourgeois drama that scholars have found the most significant results of the Diderot-Lessing relationship. As far as Lessing was concerned, Diderot was chiefly important as the French champion of the new, sentimental, bourgeois style, as the outspoken opponent of decadent Classicism. Lessing was engaged in a bitter struggle against the prevailing German taste in drama, which, conditioned by Gottsched and surviving that literary dictator's personal defeat in the 1740's, was prejudiced in favor of French Classical plays to the virtual exclusion of any production more genuinely German in character. Lessing argued, as early as 1749, that the native German genius could not express itself properly when bound down by Classical rules and fed on a diet of banal French materials. He suggested the English theater as a better alternative model for German dramatists to imitate. Lessing could have asked for no more effective ally than Diderot in the campaign he was waging. Here was a Frenchman who spoke slightly of the contemporary French theater. In 1748, Diderot had included in his pornographic *Les Bijoux indiscrets* a chapter which devastatingly satirized French tragedy. In the dialogues and essay accompanying his *Théâtre* he continued to inveigh against the practices of his country's theater. And in the preface to the first

¹² *Laokoon* XVI. LM, IX, 95.

¹³ Hugo Blümner, "Einleitung" to *Lessings Laokoon*, 2te Aufl., Berlin, 1880, p. 49.

¹⁴ *Diderot als Kunstphilosoph*, Erlangen, 1918, p. 34.

edition of his translation of that work Lessing drew his readers' attention to this fact:

Daher sieht er [Diderot] auch die Bühne seiner Nation bei weitem auf der Stufe der Vollkommenheit nicht, auf welcher sie unter uns die schalen Köpfe erblicken, an deren Spitze der Prof. Gottsched ist. Er gestehet, dass ihre Dichter und Schauspieler noch weit von der Natur und Wahrheit entfernt sind; dass beider ihre Talente, guten Theils, auf kleine Anständigkeiten, auf handwerksmässigen Zwang, auf kalte Etiquette hinauslaufen, usw.¹⁵

With Diderot's—that well-known Encyclopedist's—example to point to, Lessing could “shame” the Germans out of their perverse taste:

Selten genesen wir eher von der verächtlichen Nachahmung gewisser französischen Muster, als bis der Franzose selbst diese Muster zu verwerfen anfängt.¹⁶

From these words Lessing's purpose becomes apparent. He wished to make use of Diderot's propaganda value in the popularization of an attitude toward drama which he himself had conceived of previously, and in general *without* Diderot's influence. I do not deny the possibility that Lessing's ideas on particular points of dramatic theory were influenced and matured by Diderot's writings, and to an extent not easily judged or demonstrated. But it is a fact that Lessing's approval of bourgeois drama was well-defined and wholehearted before Diderot's *Théâtre* had even been composed. In Diderot he discovered a French dramaturge with whom he could agree, not a teacher from whom he could learn. Diderot is mentioned in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie* whenever his remarks support the views of Lessing; and Lessing does not hesitate to argue vehemently with Diderot when the latter's views conflict with his own. Petersen said of Lessing justly: “Er erblickt in ihm [Diderot] keinen Lehrmeister, sondern einen Anreger,”¹⁷ and I would add, also a helpful comrade-in-arms against old-fashioned prejudice. Diderot's flashing, unusual ideas stimulated Lessing to further thought and analysis, and Diderot's boldness and nationality encouraged Lessing in his struggle against Classical drama;

¹⁵ LM, VIII, 286.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 287.

¹⁷ J. Petersen, “Einleitung” to *Das Theater des Herrn Diderot*, in *Lessings Werke*, hrsgb. von Julius Petersen, Waldemar von Olshausen et al., Berlin-Leipzig (Bong & Co.), n. d., XI, 11.

but Diderot was no law-giver like Aristotle, and there is no evidence that he "converted" Lessing to a new way of thinking.

How can one reconcile then the history of Lessing's development as a dramaturge with his statement, "without Diderot's patterns and precepts, my taste would have taken quite another direction"? A little oversight in the matter of dates helped Erich Schmidt, one of the greatest authorities on Lessing, over the stumbling-block. He said: "Ein Jahr vor der *Sara* vollendet Diderot den *Natürlichen Sohn oder die Prüfungen der Tugend*. . ." ¹⁸ If this were true, it would be easy to arrive at the conclusion that *Miss Sara Sampson*, Lessing's first really bourgeois work, was influenced by Diderot's first bourgeois drama and the dialogues published with it. "Muster und Lehren" indeed! Furthermore, Schmidt tried to prove, on stylistic grounds, that the translation of the chapter from *Les Bijoux indiscrets* to be found in the 84. and 85. *Stücke* of the *Dramaturgie* was one made many years earlier (before 1755). ¹⁹ The latter question remains a pure hypothesis, but the former, the dating of *Le Fils naturel* before *Miss Sara Sampson*, is altogether erroneous. *Miss Sara* was written in 1755, and Diderot's play in 1757, while the rest of the *Théâtre* appeared in 1758. No connection is possible. *Miss Sara* owed something to the *comédie larmoyante* of France, more to the sentimental novels and plays of England; but nothing whatever to Diderot. Nevertheless, Julius Schwering, in *Literarische Streifzüge und Lebensbilder*, continued to believe that Lessing was "angeregt von dem Franzosen Diderot" in the composition of *Miss Sara*. ²⁰

Mistaken dates and imaginary quotations are of no aid in solving the little mystery posed by Lessing's final tribute to Diderot. One can only set these parting words beside the concrete evidence garnered from a careful investigation and comparison of Lessing's and Diderot's dramatic theories, and the respective development thereof—and then decide whether Lessing's remark was well-considered.

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¹⁸ Lessing, *Geschichte seines Lebens und seiner Schriften*, 4te durchgeshne Aufl. von Franz Schultz, Berlin, 1923, I, 295.

¹⁹ "Diderot und Lessing" in *Gegenwart*, XXI, 1882, p. 135.

²⁰ Münster, 1930, p. 185.

ALTSÄCHSISCH SKĪMO

Im neulich erschienenen Band 7 der *Altdeutschen Übungstexte* hrsg. von der Akademischen Gesellschaft Schweizerischer Germanisten, der ausgewählte Teile des altsächsischen *Heliand* enthält, gibt der Herausgeber M. Szadrowsky die Textgestalt von Behaghels Ausgabe wieder. Dementsprechend schreibt er Zeile 279a *scadouuan mid skimon* mit Länge des *i* in *skimon*, aber im Glossar, gerade wie bei Behaghel, steht *skimo* mit kurzem Vokal. Der Grund dieser Verschiedenheit in der Bezeichnung des Vokals ist klar. Die Messung des Halbverses verlangt unzweideutig langes *ī* (*skimon*), aber die Bedeutung 'Schatten,' die Behaghel dem Wort beilegt, passt nicht dazu, denn in allen germanischen Dialekten—auch sonst im Altsächsischen—, wo das Wort vorkommt, hat es die Bedeutung von 'Glanz, Licht' (vgl. mein *Wörterbuch zum Heliand*); dagegen, mit der gewöhnlichen Bezeichnung mit kurzem *i* hat es die Bedeutung von 'Schatten.' Behaghel hat sich deshalb nicht entschliessen können im Glossar *skimo* mit langem Vokal zu schreiben. Diesen letzten Schritt macht Frings in seinem Buch *Germania Romana* pp. 223-24, wo er, wie ich, *skīmo* ansetzt, aber Behaghels Bedeutung 'Schatten' zu 'Dämmerung' abändert. Frings hat sicherlich seine Auskunft aus der zweiten Auflage (1912) von Greins *Sprachschatz* geholt, wo unter dem Stichwort *scīma* zwei Bedeutungen angegeben sind: (1) 'Schimmer, Dämmerlicht' mit den zwei Belegen, die Frings anführt; (2) 'lux, splendor, nitor, coruscatio.' Grein selbst in der ersten Auflage ist vorsichtiger verfahren. Er teilte die beiden Bedeutungen unter zwei gesonderte Stichwörter *scīma* und *scīma*; daher das Schwanken bei Behaghel.

Die beiden angelsächsischen Beispiele für 'Schimmer, Dämmerlicht' zeugen keineswegs absolut für Länge des *i* in *scīma*. In den *Klagen der Gefallenen Engel* Z. 106 heisst es: *ne hēr dæg lȳhteð // for scedes scīman / sceppendes lēoht*. Hier kann man messen *for scēdēs scīman scēppendes lēoht*. Dasselbe gilt für *sceades scīman* im Dialoggedicht *Salomon und Saturn* Z. 116. Vergleichbare Stellen für diesen C3 Typus im Altenglischen lassen sich beibringen, sind allerdings selten (vgl. *Beowulf* 1082 *on þam meðelstede*; Z. 3008 *nū is ofost betost*; bedeutend häufiger im *Heliand*: *Thar uuarð imu the godes sunu* 2192, 3248; *uuarð imu*

hugi hriuuig 3094; *bi themo uulite scauuon* 5846). Aber, wie Brandl in seiner *Geschichte der Altenglischen Literatur* zum ersteren Gedicht sagt, ist die Metrik „vielfach zerrüttet“ (S. 1046), und zum zweiten (S. 1092) „neben anderen Unregelmäßigkeiten des Baues mehrmals Doppelstäbe im zweiten Halbvers.“ In den altsächsischen *Strassburger Glossen* (Wadstein, *Kleinere Altsächsische Sprachdenkmäler*, 106,10) kommt *scimo* einmal vor in der Bedeutung von ‘umbra’: *sulic so the scimo uuas thero uuetharo an themo uuatara. so bli uurthon thia sciep*. Im Glossar setzt Wadstein *scimo*¹ mit Kürze an. Auch das mittelniederdeutsche *scheme* mit gedehntem *ē* aus *ī* legt beredtes Zeugnis für Kürze ab (vgl. *scheme* ‘umbra,’ *schemekin* ‘umbraculum,’ ‘in umbra mortis’ in dem *scheme des dodes*. Dieses *scheme* darf nicht mit *scheme* ‘Larve, Maske’ verwechselt werden, denn letzteres ist ein Fremdwort aus lat. *schema* < σχῆμα; vgl. die althochdeutschen *Prudentius Glossen*, Steinmeyer-Sievers II, 472, 1; 520, 1; 529, 44). Im Mittelhochdeutschen beweisen Reime wie *schime* (‘Schatten’): *ime, nachtschime* (‘Schatten, Dunkelheit der Nacht’): *ime* die Kürze des *i*.

Frings verbindet die beiden sich widersprechenden Bedeutungen dadurch, wie er meint, dass die Doppelbedeutung ‘Glanz, Dämmerung’ aus der Doppelseitigkeit des Begriffs ‘Dämmerung’ im Sinne von ‘erstem und letztem Scheinen’ sich ergebe. Aber der offenbare Gegensatz von ‘Glanz’ und ‘Schatten’ in den folgenden Stellen verbietet eine solche Auffassung. *Traumgesicht vom Kreuze Christi*, Z. 54: *pýstro hæfdon // bewrigen mid wolcnum / wealdendes hræw // scirne scīman; / sceadu forðeode, // wann under wolcnum /*. *Genesis* Z. 128: *pā gesundrode / sigora waldend // ofer lagoflōde / lēoht wið þēostrum // sceade wið scīman /*. Das Wort *skīmo* kommt noch einmal im *Heliand* in der Zusammensetzung *dag-skīmo* vor, wo ihm nur die Bedeutung von (‘Tages’)glanz’ zukommen kann: Z. 2084 *thar is seolono lioht, // drôm drohtines / endi dagskīmon //*. Ebenso ist *æfenscīma* ags. *Genesis* 2448 mit ‘Evening-splendor,’ ‘vesperinus splendor’ (Bosworth-Toller) zu übersetzen (vgl. *æfen-lēoht* ‘Evening-light’ = die Sonne, *Beowulf* 413).

Es kann also wohl kaum mehr einem Zweifel unterliegen, dass wir bei der gewöhnlichen Bedeutung von ‘Glanz, Licht’ für *skīmo*

¹ So auch Walde-Pokorny, *Vergl. Wörterbuch der Indo-Germ. Sprachen*, II, 536.

bleiben müssen. Aber mit dieser Feststellung haben wir uns anscheinend in eine weitere Schwierigkeit gestürzt, denn der eigentümliche Ausdruck *scadouuan mid skimon* bedarf nun auch der Erklärung. Sämtliche Glossare erklären *scadouuan* mit 'beschatten.' Das ist richtig, aber wohl nur in übertragenem Sinne. Zwar ist die Stelle im *Heliand* 279: *Uualdandes craft scal thi scadouuan mid skimon* eine Übersetzung von Luc. I, 35 *virtus altissimi obumbrabit te*, mit dem Zusatz *mid skimon*. „Der Ausdruck des Dichters ist nach Jellinek (*ZfdA* 36, 163) in seiner Kürze seinem Publikum wohl unverständlich geblieben.“ Zur Erläuterung führt Jellinek eine daraufbezügliche Stelle aus Bedas Kommentar zum Lukas an, die lautet: *potest (his verbis) etiam incarnati salvatoris utraque natura designari. umbra quippe a lumine solet ac corpore formari. et cui obumbratur, lumine quidem et calore solis, quantum sufficit, reficitur. sed ipse solis ardor, ne ferri nequeat, interposita vel nubecula levi vel quolibet alio corpore temperatur. Beatae itaque Virgini, quae quasi pura homo omnem plenitudinem divinitatis corporaliter capere nequibat, virtus Altissimi obumbravit, id est incorporea lux divinitatis corpus in ea suscepit humanitatis.*

Ob der Helianddichter diese Stelle aus dem Beda'schen Kommentar vor sich hatte und deswegen in eine Dunkelheit verfällt, lasse ich dahingestellt. Jedenfalls ist eine andere Auffassung von *scadouuan mid skimon* möglich, die gut in den Zusammenhang passt. Dass das Wort *scadouuan* 'obumbrare' übersetzen soll, ist klar. Die Frage ist nur, was der Dichter darunter verstanden hat. Das lateinische Wort ist ja selbst schon eine Übersetzung von ἐπισκιάζειν, das im griechischen Text 'überschatten' (vom geschlechtlichen Akt; vgl. Walter Bauer, *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* S. 465) bedeutet, aber diese Bedeutung ist für die lateinische Textgestalt unmöglich, denn der Heilige Geist ist ja der Erzeuger Christi (vgl. das apostolische Glaubensbekenntnis), wie der *Heliand* auch deutlich sagt: *an thi scal hêlag gêt cuman thurh craft godes. Thanan* (d. h. vom Heiligen Geist) *scal thi kind ôdan uuerðan*. Dieser letzte Satz ist eine Erweiterung des Dichters. Das Griechische hat nur πνεῦμα ἅγιον ἐπελεύσεται ἐπὶ σε. Das Lateinische ändert aber in *spiritus sanctus superveniet in te*. Also musste die Bedeutung von *obumbrare* dem Sinn² der Stelle

² Das *Century Dictionary* 5, 4205 erklärt 'overshadow' in der Lukasstelle I, 35 'and the power of the Highest shall overshadow thee' mit 'protect, cover with a protecting influence.'

angepasst werden. Die ags. Lindisfarne und Rushworth Hss. übersetzen es mit *oferwrgan* (= *-wrēon*) 'to cover over,' obgleich das Wort *ofer-sceadwian* (vgl. got. *ufarskadwjan*, die ags. Corpus und Hatton Hss. *ofersceadað*, *oferscædeð*) zu Gebote stand. Dieffenbach, *Glossarium Latino-Germanicum* führt unter 'obumbrare' die Bedeutungen 'beschatten, umschatten, bedecken' und aus einer späten Hs. 'umscheinen' an; unter 'umbra' — 'Schatten, Schein.' Trotzdem einige dieser Bedeutungen vielleicht nicht ins frühe Mittelalter zurückreichen können, muss man doch mit einer alten von (wie mit einem Schatten) 'bedecken' rechnen. Das hatte der Helianddichter wohl im Sinne, als er den Zusatz schrieb, und aus einem „Die Kraft des Höchsten wird dich überschatten“ das anschaulichere und malerischere „Die Kraft des Höchsten wird dich mit Glanz bedecken“³ machte. Wie schon beim Helianddichter die Heilige Jungfrau *idiso scōniost*, *allaro uuībo uulitigost* heisst, so auch sonst in den Schriften des Mittelalters. Otfrid I, 5, 21 nennt sie *magad scīnenta*; Hrab. Maurus, *virgo, genetrix lucis*; in einer Sequenz des Notker Balb. heisst sie *lucerna nitens*. Ob der Dichter etwa auch den *Nimbus*, den Heiligenschein, im Sinne hatte, ist wohl möglich. Hier ist an die Erklärung von *nimbus* bei Isidor, *Etymologiae* 19, 31 zu erinnern: *Nam et lumen, quod circa angelorum capita fingitur, nimbus vocatur, licet et nimbus sit densitas nubis*. Schon im Altertum wurden die Häupter der Göttinnen mit einem strahlenden Glanz umgeben: Vergil, *Aeneis* V, 2, 616 *Pallas — nimbo effulgens*, 10, 634 *Iuno nimbo succinta*. Ferner muss man auch bedenken, dass in der Bibel die Wolken — eine Art elliptische Aureole, womit auch später die Madonna versehen wurde —, in denen Gott und Christus den Menschen erscheinen, als 'glänzend' bezeichnet sind: Matth. 17, 5 *nubes lucida inumbravit eos*. Apoc. 14, 14 *aderat nubes candida*.

Zum Schluss mache ich noch darauf aufmerksam, dass in der zweiten Halbzeile von *Heliand* 279 das Adjektiv *scōniera* die Auffassung von 'Glanz' vollauf bestätigt. Es bedeutet 'glänzend, schön' (vgl. *sin-skōni* 23, 59, 2600) und fängt den Begriff von *skîmon* in der ersten Halbzeile gleich wieder auf, um besonderen Nachdruck darauf zu legen.

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³ Vgl. die altengl. Übersetzung von Psalm 90, 4 *scapulis suis obumbrabit tibi* 'he me mid his gesculdrum sceade beþeahhte.'

OLD ENGLISH RIDDLE 23

BOW, OE *BOGA*

Agof is min noma eft onhwyrfed.

Ic eom wrætlic wiht on gewin gesceapen
ðonne ic onbuge ond me of bosme fareð
ætren onga. Ic beom eallgearo

- 5 ðæt ic me ðæt feorbealo feor aswape
siððan me se waldend, se me ðæt wite gescop,
leoðo forlæteð: ic beo lengre ðonne ær
oððæt ic spæte, spilde geblonden,
ealfelo attor ðæt ic ær geap.
- 10 Ne togongeð ðæs gumena hwylcum
ænigum eaðe ðæt ic ðær ymb spirce:
gif hine hrined ðæt me of hrife fleogeð,
ðæt ðone mandrine mægne geceapað,
full wege fæste feore sine.
- 15 Nelle ic unbunden ænigum hyran,
nymðe searosæled. Saga hwæt ic hatte.

2 MS sceapen/ *gesceapen*

11 MS sprice/ *spirce*

14 MS full wer/ *full wege*, Holthausen, fullwered.

Agof is my name reversed.

I am an artful thing shaped for combat
when I bend and from my bosom fares
a venomous spike. I am all-ready

- 5 to drive this deadly evil far from me
the instant my master, who caused me this torture,
releases my limbs: longer I am than before
until, fraught with destruction, I spit
the deadly venom I ere swallowed.
- 10 Not easily does a man escape
what I spirt about:
if what flies from my belly touches him
he pays with his strength for the evil draught
and quickly with his life for the full cup.
- 15 Unstrung I will not obey anyone,
but only when skilfully bound. Say what I am called.

The proposed emendations contribute materially to an understanding of the text, as translation and punctuation show. Before I explain these emendations a few words should be said on *agof* in line 1.

Sievers saw in *agof*, instead of *agob*, an error of the scribe caused by the orthography of his time. Wyatt thought that already at the

time of composition of the poem *b* and *f* in certain cases were used interchangeably so that by writing *agof* the poet intended to introduce a learned problem into an otherwise pointless riddle. Professor Max Förster with whom I discussed the question favors an original *agob*. I hope he will present his richly documented arguments concerning this rather intricate subject in a note so as to enable us to decide if one should adhere to *agof* or emend it into *agob*. As long as *agof* is retained one cannot translate it by "wob," bow reversed, as does Mackie.¹

In line 2 *gesceapen* should *metri causa* replace *sceapen*. All editors of the riddle have retained in line 11 the MS reading *sprice* rendered by "I speak." On linguistic grounds *sprice* is untenable, moreover, it is devoid of sense. I suggest the emendation *spirce*; *spirce* or *spyrce* from *spyrca*, *spierca* to OE *spearca*, spark. *Spirca*, to sparkle, and *spircing*, sprinkling, are recorded. *Spirce* thus may mean: I emit sparks, sparkle, sprinkle, spirt.² A related form *spearcian* occurs once in *Christ and Satan*, ll. 78-80; editors at a loss to explain it have tried to emend it. But the line: *Hē [Satan] spearcade . . . fýre and ättre*³ makes good sense and comes conspicuously close in meaning to the present one, it reveals clearly the semantic development behind *spearcian* or *spierca*: to emit sparks and [or] deadly poison.

The last emendation relies on the figure of speech *poculum mortis* and similar vernacular expressions such as bitter or fatal drink which Carleton Brown traced in early mediaeval Latin hymns and in Old English and Old High German poetry.⁴ In my opinion, *māndrink*, the poisonous or evil draught in line 13, belongs to the same group of metaphors as does also the *full wēge* in line 14, by which I propose to amend the *full wer* of the Ms. Old Norse (*full*) *veig*, full cup, is equivalent to OE *full wēge* (OE *wēge*, *wēge*, OS *wēgi*, OHG *weiga*).⁵ I have traced *poculum*

¹ For details on the change of *b* > *f* see Sievers, *Anglia*, XIII, 13 sq., Sievers-Brunner, *Altenglische Grammatik*, Halle, 1942, par. 191 and 192, A. 4, and A. J. Wyatt, *Old English Riddles*, London, 1912, p. 81.

² Förster calls my attention to the form *forspyrcende* in the *V. Psalter* 101, 5 (*Vulgate* 101, 4), where it translates "dried" bones, but implies "scattered" bones, cf. Grein-Koehler, *Sprachschatz der Ags. Dichter*, 1912, s. v. *forspyrcende*.

³ Cf. also *Satanes word spearcum fleah ättre gelicost* (*Christ and Satan* ll. 161-62).

⁴ *Poculum Mortis* in Old English, *Speculum* xv, 4, pp. 389-399.

⁵ Holthausen emends *fullwered*, a reading Krapp and Dobbie, *The Exeter*

mortis to Cicero,⁸ but there may be more instances of the use of this or related phrases in classical literature. The connection of this term with Socrates' κύλιξ or πῶμα φαρμάκων seems certain. Like other classical concepts, the later *poculum mortis* acquired a Christian coloring, it became associated with the bitter cup of Christ on the cross, with the cup of sorrow, the *calix moeroris et tristitiae* in *Ezech.* XXIII, 32, and with still other biblical passages. I may further mention the drink of death in the Old Irish saga *Togail Bruidne Uí Derga*⁷ and similar terms in *Guðlac*, *Juliana*, in the Old High German warsong *Ludwigslied* (881 A. D.),⁸ which is based on hymns, and in the *Nibelungenlied*.⁹ It would seem that the impressive figure of speech was taken over from Latin hymns into religious poetry and, finally, into the poetic diction of the minstrels. Lines 13 and 14 express a gradation in the effects produced by the arrows; only a well-hitting arrow will administer the full cup, that is, produce certain death.¹⁰

Book, New York, 1936, p. 23 adopt, but such a compound with reversed order of its elements is unusual, and *wered*, "sweet," does not tally with the bitter drink that the text calls for. For *wæge* see Cleop. Gl. *wēgi* (Wright-Wülker 282, 11). In compounds *bæde-wēg* is twice recorded in *Guthlac* 958 and *Bede* IV, c. 30, 30, where *bædeweg scencton dæs heofenlican lifes* translates *caelestis vitae poculis*.

⁸ *Pro A. Cluentio Oratio*, ed. Yorke Fausset, London, 1910, XI, 31: *exhausto illo poculo mortis*.

⁷ The Destruction of *Uí Derga's Hostel*, Myles Dillon, *Early Irish Literature*, Chicago, 1948, p. 31; Prof. Dillon kindly advises me that the formula, many a man got a "drink of death," is not generally found in Irish literature.

⁸ See Carleton Brown, *loc. cit.*, especially his interesting discussion of the famous old *cruces* of Old English poetry *biter beorðegu*, *ealuscerwen* and *meoduscerwen* *op. cit.* pp. 395-96. R. M. Lumiansky, The Contexts of OE. "Ealuscerwen" and "Meoduscerwen" *JEGP* XLVIII January 1949, pp. 116-126; the latest discussion of these nonce-words, takes another point of view. I hope to revert to this subject in a special article.

⁹ *hie scenket Hagene daz aller wirsiste tranc*, *Nibelungenlied*, line 1981; this comes very close to a passage in the old Rhenish-Franconian *Ludwigslied*: *her scancta cehanton sinan fianton bitteres lides*, lines 53-54.

¹⁰ When in Plato's report on Socrates' death (*Phaedo* 117 a-b) the keeper brings the cup of poison, Socrates asks him whether or not he might libate some of the potion to the gods, whereupon the keeper replies that only the full measure (τὸ μέτρον) would insure death. Do we, possibly, have in our riddle an echo of this famous passage? Classical allusions are present in several of the Old English riddles. A most rewarding study would be a revaluation of Old English literature in the light of its classical

The riddle does not make, as has been thought, any contributions to our knowledge of *OE realia*, it does not refer to the cross-bow (late *OE arblast* < *L. arcubalista*). Either both *bōsm* and *hrif* are metaphors for the bent, wooden portion of the bow, or else *bōsm* refers to the bent wood and *hrif* to the space enclosed between the cord when pulled back for shooting. Such metaphors were often loosely used so that *bōsm* need not allude to a composite bow with double bend. If our poet had meant to speak of the cross-bow, of a "wonder"—provided it was known to the early Middle Ages—he would certainly have mentioned one of its specific features.¹¹ The torture in line 6 is the bending of the wood. Lines 7-9 are closely related to what precedes; the bow becomes longer as soon as its limbs are released, and it stays longer until made ready again to shoot. Does our author actually think of poisoned arrows or merely echo a classical or biblical phrase? One cannot tell.¹² Lines 15-16 refer to the fact that bows, when not in use, were kept unstrung, i. e., with one end of the cord disconnected so that the bow would not lose its resiliency. One regrets that the riddle has not one word to say about the construction of the *OE* bow; *hornboga*¹³ still awaits a convincing explanation.

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traditions. *Poculum mortis* is but one small relic of antiquity to which the early Middle Ages imparted new life.

¹¹ For a bow with double bend in the 11. cent. see the *Utrecht Psalter*, Harleian MS, 603, Brit. Mus. Cf. Sir Guy F. Laking, *A Record of European Armour and Arms*, London, 1920, vol. I, p. 63. In the D Text of the *Ag. Chronicle* sub 1079 the cross-bow, *OE arblast*, is mentioned for the first time in Anglo-Saxon England. Anna Comnena, *Alexiad*, tr. E. A. S. Dawes, London, 1928, p. 255, believes that the cross-bow of the ancients has been revived by the Franks, cf. Lynn White, *Technology and Invention in the Middle Ages*, *Speculum* xv, 2, 1940, p. 147, N. 2, where other works on the history of the cross-bow are mentioned. Johannes Hoops, *Die Armbrust im Frühmittelalter*, *Wörter und Sachen* III (1912) 65-68 assumed a cross-bow in the present riddle. He based his arguments mainly on the terms *bōsm* and *hrif* and would read *ealfelo* (*ättor*) as *ealfela* "very many poisons" i. e. arrows, but after *ealfela* the genitive form is usual. For the *ealfelo* of our text "baleful" see *Andreas* line 770, *ättor ælfæle*.

¹² For poisoned arrows see M. L. Keller, *The Ags. Weapon Names . . .*, *Angl. Forsch.* 15, Heidelberg, 1906, p. 51.

¹³ On stringing and binding the bow cf. Shetelig-Falk, *Engl. Transl. Gordon*, *Scandinavian Archaeology*, Oxford, 1937, p. 390. *Beowulf* 2437 hardly is a bow "tipped with horn"; the compounds with *horn* need new investigation.

OLD ENGLISH RIDDLE 13

- Ic seah turf tredan, X wæron ealra,
 VI gebroðor ond hyra sweostor mid;
 hæfdon feorg cwico. Fell hongedon
 sweotol ond gesyne on seles wæge
 5 anra gehwylces. Ne wæs hyra ængum ðy wyr, s,
 ne side ðy sarre, ðeah hy swa sceoldon
 reafe birofene, rodra weardes
 meahtum aweahte, muðum slitan
 haswe blede. Hrægl bið geniwad
 10 ðam ðe ær forðcymene frætwe leton
 licgan on laste, gewitan lond tredan.

6 sarra / Grein, *sarre*

- I saw them walking on the soil, ten they were in all,
 six brothers and with them their sisters;
 they were very alive. Their skins hung
 clearly visible on the wall of each one's house.
 5 Not one of them was any the worse for that,
 nor was his outside any the sorer, although, bereft
 of their covering, they must, called to life
 by the Almighty, splice with their mouths
 the fallow seeds. Covering is restored to them
 10 who, before they set out, left their clothing behind
 and went forth to walk on the land.

No less than five solutions have been proposed for this riddle: the caterpillar or cocoon of a certain butterfly (Wright, Klipstein, Grein), the 22 letters of the alphabet (Dietrich), the ten fingers and a pair of gloves (Tupper), ten chickens (Trautmann), and ten chickens whose egg-shells hang on the wall of a cottage (Wyatt). Some very animated polemics have accompanied this riddle contest, nevertheless the problem remains.¹

Dietrich's answer, the 22 letters of the alphabet, is now generally regarded as untenable. The remaining solutions, excepting Trautmann's *Ten Chickens*, all assume that some thing, a cocoon, pair of gloves, or ten egg-shells, hangs on the wall, outside or inside,

¹ F. Tupper, *The Riddles of the Exeter Book*. Boston, New York . . . 1910, p. 96 ad riddle 14. My numbering follows G. Ph. Krapp and E. Van Kirk Dobbie, *The Exeter Book*, Columbia Univ. Press, 1936. Articles containing the controversies Tupper-Trautmann are named in Tupper's book and in M. Trautmann, *Die Altenglischen Rätsel*, Heidelberg, New York, 1915, p. 76, ad 11.

of a building or human dwelling. This assumption requires that, in agreement with Mackie's translation, we interpret line 4 to mean that the skins of the ten creatures (line 3) hang on one and the same wall.² But this interpretation is not warranted; it strains the text in order to make it meet an assumed solution. Line 4 is an important proposition in the riddle, and it clearly states that the skins of the creatures hang on the wall of the house of each one. Trautmann's answer is the only one that conforms to this condition. All the other solutions rest, to say the least, on very unsafe ground.

Tr.'s solution is, moreover, supported by several other propositions of the poem. He who has seen a chicken break through its egg-shell remembers that the membrane or film, the lining of the shell, hangs ragged from the inner wall. As our riddle says, the creatures are bereft of their covering (lines 6-7). Contrary to the behaviour of most nestlings, the chickens of our various domestic fowls, soon after leaving their eggs, are very alive (line 3), they begin to walk almost immediately (line 11) and to pick up and splice their food (lines 8-9). The phrase "covering is restored to them" in line 9 refers, of course, to the growing down.

Tupper objected to Trautmann's solution mainly because he felt rightly that the OE riddle is closely related to PS.-Bede's *Flores* 2: *Vidi filium cum matre manducantem, cuius pellis pendeat in pariete* (I saw an offspring eating with his mother, his skin hung on the wall). Tupper, however, misinterpreted this Latin enigma and some other similar ones by referring them not to the chicken, but to the hand (*filius*), the pen (*mater*), and the glove (*pellis*), the doffed glove being the skin he assumed hanging on the wall. From some German folk-riddles he erroneously inferred that "the glove ever hangs on the wall."³ Tr., on the other hand, clearly saw that the Latin enigmas of this group refer to the hatched chicken and the film left in the egg. Dümmler had already, though not quite correctly, given *Ovum* as the answer to one of these riddles, namely, to No. 8 of the *Enigmata Anglica*, which reads:

En, video sobolem propria cum matre morantem,
Mandre cuius pellis in pariete pendet adhaerens.

² W. S. Mackie, *The Exeter Book*, Part II, *EETS*, 194, London, 1934, p. 103.

³ See Trautmann's criticism of this assertion in *Anglia* xxxvi, 129. Cf. also A. J. Wyatt, *Old English Riddles*, London, 1912, p. 73.

Lo, I see an offspring abiding with his own mother,
his skin, by adhering to the cell, hangs on the wall.

The offspring abiding with his mother alludes to the chickens seeking shelter and warmth under the wings of the hen. *Mandra* (μάρδρα) in ML means a cell, closet, cloister (here the egg-shell). Tr. also recognized that the key for this group of riddles is Eusebius' enigma 38, whose text follows.

De Pullo.

Cum corio ante meo tectus vestitus et essem,
Tunc nihil ore cibi gustabam, oculisque videre
Non potui; pascor nunc escis, pelle detectus
Vivo, sed exanimis transivi viscere matris.

Chicken.

When once I was covered and clothed in my shell,
I tasted no food with my mouth and with my eyes could
see nothing;
yet now I eat food and, though stripped of my skin,
I live, but lifeless I came forth from my mother's womb.⁴

A serious shortcoming of Tr.'s otherwise convincing solution is its inability to explain the number puzzle in lines 1-2, whereas Tu. was able to give a fairly plausible explanation of it by dividing the ten fingers into six large and four small ones. But, why just ten chickens? and why six brothers and four sisters? Even the professional hatcher is unable, during the first six weeks or so, to distinguish by their outer appearance the cock- from the hen-chickens. I suggest as solution to the riddle *Ten Ciccenu* (Ten Chickens). This solution with its ten letters, of which six are consonants (brothers) and four vowels (sisters), would readily explain the number puzzle. The spelling *ciccen* instead of the usual *ciēcen* or *cīcen* is characteristic of the Northumbrian dialect; hence, it is another instance corroborating the presumable Northumbrian origin of many of the OE riddles. That the author had actually thought of the spelling with double *c* seems almost certain if we consider that *tien cīcenu* with its five consonants and five vowels

⁴ For the *Flores* see Migne, *PL*. 94, 539 sq. and Tupper, *Riddles of the Bede tradition*, *M. Ph.* II, 561 sq. For the *Enigmata Anglica* or *Lorsch Riddles* see the edition by Dümmler, *MGH. PL. AC.* I, 20 sq. The Eusebius Riddles will appear in an edition which I have prepared. The translations are my own.

would have served his purpose at least equally well, and that the alliteration of *fif* with *fif* was at once given.⁵

Riddles playing with letters used to be common. In Aldhelm's enigma 30 *Elementum* the letters of the alphabet are represented by two related groups, by 17 legitimate, and 6 illegitimate sisters.⁶ The Old English riddle 42 *Hana and Hæn* (Cock and Hen) and its play with runes may also be mentioned in this context.

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CHARON AND DER KLEIDERSCHRANK

That the sinister figure of Charon appears, in the guise of a gondolier, in Thomas Mann's *Der Tod in Venedig* has long been recognized; but his appearance in the much earlier *Der Kleiderschrank* (1899) may not have been noted. In that story, Albrecht van der Qualen (his surname is of course significant) appears as one of Mann's characteristically diseased and isolated heroes. We know little about him except that he has around his eyes the dark shadows typical of Mann's decadents,¹ and that he has not many months left to live.² Feverish and largely out of touch with external reality, he decides, in response to some undefined impulse, to interrupt his journey on the Berlin-Rome express. It seems char-

⁵ See *cicceno* in Lindisfarne, *Mt.* 23, 37. *ciccenu* is the ancestor of NE *chicken*. The development seems to run thus: **ciucin*-with -*in* dimin. suff., and, because of smoothing in the Anglian dialects, *ciċen*, see *ciken* in R. 1 (cf. Sievers-Brunner § 119, A. 3; § 162; Luick-Wild-Kozioł § 192; Girwan § 97; Bülbring §§ 195, 382, 434). The originally long middle vowel *i* was shortened > *i* > *e* at an early date, it could either be dropped before an unstressed syllable or be retained with secondary stress thus giving either *ciċnes* or, especially before *u*, *ciċċenu* (Sievers . . . § 162). Before double consonants *i* was shortened > *i*: *ciċnes*.

In the Northumbrian dialect the doubling of consonants is quite a common feature (Bülbring § 546), also before *n* no palatalization of the second *o* occurs (Luick . . . § 689, A 2), therefore the writing *ciccenu* and NE *chicken*. I owe several of these references to the kindness of Professor Max Förster.

⁶ *Aldhelmi Opera*, ed. R. Ehwald, *MGH AA* xv, Berlin, 1919.

¹ *Die erzählenden Schriften, gesammelt* (Berlin: S. Fischer, 1928), II, 441.

² *Ibid.*

acteristic of him that he knows neither the exact time of the year nor the name of the German city at which he leaves the train. On his first walk through this city, he crosses a bridge.

Ein langer, morscher Kahn kam vorbei, an dessen Hinterteil ein Mann mit einer langen Stange ruderte. Van der Qualen blieb ein wenig stehen und beugte sich über die Brüstung. Sieh da, dachte er, ein Fluss; der Fluss. Angenehm, dass ich seinen ordinären Namen nicht weiss.³

Under the circumstances, it seems more than probable that the oarsman is Charon, the ferryman of the dead; the river, "ein Fluss, der Fluss," is the Styx—its "ordinärer Name" is indeed irrelevant. On what other basis can the introduction of the "langer, morscher Kahn," the boatman, and the river be explained?

Corroborative evidence is found in the prose dialogue *Fiorenza* (1904). The dying Lorenzo de' Medici tells his friends:

. . . Mir träumte so schwer von einem glatzköpfigen Alten, der mich in seinen morschen Nacken ziehen wollte . . .⁴

Poliziano, erschüttert: Charon . . .⁵

In view of this parallel it seems best to interpret van der Qualen's encounter with the boatman also as a dream with a vivid premonition of death. The hint in the last paragraph of the story⁶ gives one an added right to do so. With that reading, the whole cryptic action between van der Qualen and the maiden, which in any case is rich in dreamlike qualities, is moved one step further into the realm of the fantastic.

To my knowledge, this is Mann's first use of classical mythology. It may be significant that in certain later works where Mann similarly evokes a non-rational element transcending ordinary experience, he also turns back to the Hellenic world. In addition to *Der Tod in Venedig*,⁷ one thinks of the chapter "Schnee" in *Der*

³ *Ibid.*, p. 442.

⁴ Italics mine.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 677.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 449. "Wer weiss auch nur, ob überhaupt Albrecht van der Qualen an jenem Nachmittage wirklich erwachte und sich in die unbekannte Stadt begab; ob er nicht vielmehr schlafend in seinem Coupé erster Klasse verblieb . . . ?"

⁷ For the more obvious reference to the symbol of Charon in this story, cf. *ibid.*, pp. 758-761. Here the gondola is compared to a coffin, and the "house of Hades" is mentioned.

Zauberberg and of the veiled allusion to Hermes Psychopompos in *Joseph*.⁸

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THREE NOTES ON DONNE'S POETRY WITH A SIDE GLANCE AT *OTHELLO*

I

In "The Triple Fool" Donne establishes a rhetorical and logical resolution of his love agony on the basis of a scientific trope.

Then as th'earths inward narrow crooked lanes
Do purge sea waters fretfull salt away
I thought, if I could draw my paines
Through Rimes vexation, I should them allay. . . .

The troubadoric tone of the verse itself is, I think, given a further mediaeval emphasis by the fact that the trope is brought from the same age and was known to the Renaissance chiefly through compendiums of mediaeval character. One has difficulty finding this notion in what might be called books of advanced scientific thinking; the gloss is found in Caxton's translation of the *Image du Monde*:

Alle watres come of the see; as wel the swete as the salt, what somer they be, alle come out of the see and theder agayn alle retorne. Wherupon somme may demande: "Syth the see is salt, how is it that somme water is fresshe and swete? Herto answerth one of tha auctours and sayth that the water that hath his cours by the swete erthe is fresshe and swete, and becometh swete by the swetnes of therthe whiche taketh a way from it his saltnes and his bytternes by her nature; ffor the water whiche is salt & bytter, whan it renneth through the swete erthe, the swetnes of therthe reteyneth his bytternes and saltnes.¹

This idea, so much a part of the combined scientific thinking of the Middle Ages, was clearly out-of-date in the Renaissance. It turns up, for instance, in Pierre de la Primaudaye's *French*

⁸ Cf. Mann's letter of February 20, 1934 in Karl Kerényi, *Romandichtung und Mythologie* (Zürich: Rheinverlag, 1945), p. 19.

¹ *Op. cit.*, Ed. O. H. Prior, *EETS*, es cx (1913), pp. 109-10. The "auctour" is Honorius Augustodunensis whose *Imago Mundi* is followed here.

Academy, but it is not to be found in later collections like the *Dies Caniculares* (1607) of Simon Maiolus. Nonetheless, it was of more poetic usefulness than theories more definitely scientific; hence Donne appropriated it and reaffirmed its value.

II

In the great "Satyre III" there is an unannotated quatrain of telling effect. Having discussed the nature of Religious Truth and how it is ascertained by men, Donne exhorts his readers to cling to the truth that they have won in spite of all political pressures.

Keepe the truth which thou hast found; men do not stand
In so ill case here, that God hath with his hand
Sign'd Kings blanck-charters to kill whom they hate,
Nor are they Vicars, but hangmen to Fate.

The last line is of extreme interest because it is a rephrasing of what Luther had written in 1523 in *Von weltlicher Oberkeit*. The pertinent passage reads:

Sie sind gemeyniglich die grösten narren odder die ergisten buben auff erden, darumb man sich alltzeytt bey yhn des ergisten versehen und wenig güts von yhn gewartten musz sonderlich ynn gotlichen sachen, die der seelen heyl belangen. Denn es sind Gottis stockmeyster und hencker, und seyn gotlicher zorn gebraucht yhr, zü staffen die böszen und euszerlichen fride zü halten. Es ist eyn grosser herr unszer Gott, Darumb musz er auch solch edelle, hochgeporne, keyche hencker und böttel haben unnd will, das sie reychthum, ehre unnd furcht von yederman die geusse und die menge haben sollen. Es gefellt seynem gottlichem willem, das wyr seyne hencker gnedige herrn heyssen, yhn zü fussen fallen und mitt aller demütt unterthan seyen, szo fern sie yhr handtwerek nicht zü weytt strecken, das sie hirtten ausz hencker werden wollen.²

The relation between the noble "hencker" and the "hangmen" is rather interesting and the whole thought of Donne's passage coincides with the "das sie hirtten ausz hencker werden wollen." Was Donne thinking of Luther when he wrote this passage? I do not know. He was familiar with the life and writings of the great German to whom he defers in his sermons and this tract was available in Latin as early as 1525. Perhaps the expression was a common one or perhaps Luther and Donne had protestant minds that thought in the same way.

² *Werke* (Weimar, 1883-), XI, 267-8.

III

A third point of interest is found in "A Feaver."

O wrangling schooles, that search what fire
Shall burne this world, had none the wit
Unto this knowledge to aspire
That this her feaver might be it.

This stanza, it seems to me, has been inadequately annotated by Grierson who refers the reader to a passage in Sir Thomas Browne's *Religio* that throws no light whatsoever on the opening lines. It is a well-known fact that the Church Fathers, attracted by the passage on the Great Combustion in Second Peter, were delighted to learn that pagans had a similar revelation; consequently, Renaissance theologians are inclined to line up the testimony on this terminal event by Justin Martyr, Lactantius, Irenaeus, Augustine, Jerome, Eusebius, and others against equally distressing accounts in Ovid, Lucan, Seneca, Plutarch, Diogenes Laertius, and the so-called Sibylline Oracle.

But the speculators—especially the Fathers—were not so much concerned about the means of the Conflagration as about its date, tokens, and general extent. The only difficulty that seemed to vex them was whether the final fire would destroy the element of fire, but this matter was clarified to some degree by the time of Paschius Radbertus who said that the fire would not destroy anything above that part of the sky in which birds fly.³ The Renaissance had other notions.

Drawing heavily upon Seneca's *Natural Questions*, the Renaissance assumed that the fire for the world's final might come (a) as a result of the continual drying process that was reducing the earth's moisture, (b) as a result of a fatal conjunction of all the stars in Cancer, (c) as a result of fire sent down from heaven (God could relax the bonds of fire as he had relaxed those of water and Sodom was a sort of dress rehearsal). These possibilities together with other matters are summed up by Magius in his *De Exustione Mundi*, 1562.

To these torrid prospects there was subsequently added, after the theories of Copernicus and Kepler became better known, the notion that the dissolution by fire might be effected by the sun

³ *Expositio in Matthaeum*, PL, CXX, 829.

drawing closer to the earth. If this was not enough, the central fires of the world that manifested themselves in volcanic eruptions would help as once the rain from heaven was aided by the waters of the abyss. His ignibus inter se coeuntibus, quomodo aquae coiere, nascentur incendium illud Mundo fatale. This is Grotius on II Peter 3:7. A summary of all these matters was made subsequent to Donne's death by Burnet⁴ and Ray,⁵ and I believe that we can assume that many of these ideas were in Donne's mind when he wrote.

But there is another aspect of this matter that should be considered. Sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century, or perhaps sooner, some "Chymicks" (who they were I do not know nor do the editors of the works cited below enlighten me) came to some interesting conclusions about the state of the world after the Fire. I first quote from James Howell, writing presumably in June, 1621, after visiting a Venetian glassworks.

But when I pried into the materials, and observed the furnaces and the calcinations, the transsubstantiations, the liquefactions that are incident to this art, my thoughts were raised to a higher speculation: that if this small furnace-fire hath virtue to convert such a small lump of dark dust and sand into such a precious clear body as crystal, surely that grand universal fire which shall happen at the day of judgment, may by its violent ardour vitrify and turn to one lump of crystal that whole body of the earth, nor I the first that fell upon this conceit. *Letters*, I. 29.

Now let us see what Sir Thomas Browne has to say.

Philosophers that opinioned the world's destruction by fire, did never dream of annihilation, which is beyond the power of sublunary causes; for the last and proper action of that element is but vitrification, or a reduction of a body into glass; and therefore some of our Chymicks facetiously affirm, that at the last fire all shall be christallized and reverberated into glass, which is the utmost action of that element. *Religio*, I. 50.

I should like to know how early this hypothesis was abroad because if it was generally known by 1600 it might explain a trope in *Othello*. We are in the last act; Desdemona has been smothered. Othello bursts forth with a Last Judgment metaphor.

⁴ *Telluris Theoria Sacra* (Amsterdam, 1699), 175-226; first printed in 1681.

⁵ *Three Physico-Theological Discourses* (London, 1693), pp. 240-76, 316-30. There was also a *De Fine Mundi* by Alphonsus Pandulphus in 1658 which I have not seen; much of this material is given in Jacobus Thomasius, *Exercitatio de Stoica Mundi Exustione* (Lipsiae, 1676), pp. 1-32.

O, insupportable! O heavy hour!
 Methinks it should be now a huge eclipse
 Of sun and moon, and that the affrighted globe
 Should yawn at alteration.

This recalls the darkening of the sun and moon at the last day, and the hell and fire figures follow rapidly in the next forty lines. "Gone to burning," "And you the blacker devil!", "Thou art rash as fire," and "O, I were damn'd beneath all depth in hell." Then the poetic crescendo:

If heaven would make me such another world
 Of one entire and perfect chrysolite
 I'd not have sold her for it.

The psychological progression to this final trope seems more positive if we could assume that the new world, thanks to the purging fire, would be a great sphere of crystal. But did Shakespeare have this in mind? We shall never know. Probably not.

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THE "VNCLEANE BIRDS" IN *THE ALCHEMIST*

Towards the end of the fourth act of *The Alchemist*, when Ananias enters to announce that "Casting of dollers is concluded lawfull," the sight of Surly in his Spanish costume provokes the following tirade:

ANA. Auoid *Sathan*,
 Thou art not of the light. That ruffe of pride,
 About thy neck, betrayes thee: 'and is the same
 With that, which the vncleane birds, in *seuenty-seuen*,
 Were seene to pranke it with, on diuers coasts.¹

Jonson's editors have not done well by this passage. Gifford (ed. 1816, iv. 155) annotates it as follows:

The allusion to the "unclean birds in seventy-seven" I do not understand, unless it refer to the number of Spanish troops which poured into the Netherlands, about that time, under D'Alva.

¹ Ed. Herford & Simpson, iv. vii. 50 ff. In some editions, iv. iv. 668 ff.

Smithson² amends Gifford thus: "The allusion might be to D'Alva's invasion of the Netherlands, 1567, if we could alter the text." The remainder are silent or say that the allusion has not been explained. Hart (ed. 1903, p. 206), properly skeptical of Gifford's Spanish soldiers, remarks:

I am inclined to think the reference is to some real ornithological phenomenon. It would be quite in the puritanical style to call a courtly delicacy with a swaggering ruff, an unclean bird.

Hathaway³ adds: "The unclean birds are more like[ly] to be vultures, &c., in some popular superstition."

By *birds* Jonson does indeed mean birds. Birds with ruffs were sufficiently well known to sixteenth-century connoisseurs of the marvelous and their monstrosity was of course interpreted as a warning against the sin of pride. The allusion may be illustrated by a small tract printed at London in 1586. The only copy I know of, in the British Museum, lacks the titlepage, but the head-title reads as follows: "A most wonderfull, and true report, the like neuer hearde of before, of diuerse vnknowne Foules: hauing the Fethers about their heads, and neckes, like to the frysled fore-tops, Lockes, and great Ruffes, now in vse among men, and *Wemen: latelie taken at Crowley in the Countie of Lyncolne. 1586.*"⁴ The report begins with a recommendation of the "contemplatiue and considerate obseruation" of "Ghosts, Beastes, Byrds, Birthes, Motions, Flames, Visions, and such like other, presaging and foreshowing the wel or ill threatned to some Estates or particular persons, or, as it were, dumbly preaching reformation in some abuses"; it ends with a list of "*The names of diuers right worshipfull and credible Persons, hauing seene the foresaid Foules whilst they liued, and after they were dead.*" It tells how two fowlers,

² *Apud* Gayley, *Representative English Comedies*, 1903-1914, II. 367.

³ *Yale Studies in English* xvii, 1903, p. 333.

⁴ With the missing title-leaf, the tract would consist of one sheet in quarto; the page with the head-title is signed A2 and the pagination is [3]-8. The text is in black letter. The colophon (p. 8) reads: "AT LONDON, Imprinted by Robert Robinson dwelling in Fetter Lane neere Holborne." It was entered to Robinson on 21 November (*Arber's Transcript*, II. 459). Hazlitt (*Hand-Book*, 1867, p. 335) describes what was evidently a complete copy, for he mentions a woodcut which I imagine appeared on the titlepage.

hauling set certaine Lime-twigges, intangled and caught in the same seuen great Fowles, all of one bignes, & of intermixt coloures: the like whereof were neuer seen or heard of in any Countrie. . . . the Fethers about their necke, being of diuers coloures, grew and stood vp very high, euen, and formally like vnto great Ruffes: and were hilde vp with stiffe quilles, as it were Wyers or Supporters, such as are now commonly vsed of our Gallants.

The author's interpretation of this prodigy would not have seemed strange to Ananias:

It were thinke I an happy error (if it be an error) that our frysled and ouer-ruffed Dames, would construe these Foules to bee frysled and ruffed Diuels: and I wish that the reporte of these monstrous Byrdes might admonish some Rufflers, that themselues are monstrously men.

I am not suggesting that this report of the birds with ruffs in Lincolnshire is the "source" of the lines in the play. There is no precise equivalent of "vnclane"⁵ or of "on diuers coasts" and the dates do not agree. But it makes clear enough, I think, the kind of thing Jonson had in mind. It is possible that his allusion is exact and that birds with ruffs were reported in 1577 in some fashion not traced. It is also possible that he is simply referring to an established form of credulity⁶ and to the interpretation put

⁵ *Vnclane* is not merely an epithet such as Ananias would apply to any one who is "not of the light"; applied to birds, it also means not fit to eat. Cf. Harrison, *Historicall Description* (apud Holinshed, 1587, vol. i, sig. V.ij.r): "I would likewise intreat of other foules which we repute vnclane, as rauens, crowes, pies, choughes, rookes, kites, iaies, ringtailes, starlings, woodspikes, woodnawes, rauens, &c."

⁶ A child born with a ruff of flesh was reported in 1566 and duly advertised as a sign of God's detestation of "This ruffeling world, in ruffles al rolde." See S.T.C. 1033, *The true Discripcion of a Childe with Ruffles, borne in the parish of Micheham, in the countie of Surrey, in the yeere of our Lord MDLXVI*; reprinted by Joseph Lilly, *A Collection of Seventy-nine Black-letter Ballads and Broadsides*, 1867, pp. 243 ff. A very curious application of this form of credulity is found in a poem called *The Acts of Queen Elizabeth Allegorized* by William Wodwall, as described by John Bruce in 4 N. & Q. III, 3 April 1896, pp. 305-307. This poem compares a number of the events of the queen's reign—the Northern Rebellion, the Babington conspiracy, etc.—with an amazing repertory of natural wonders—comets, earthquakes, two-headed pigs, Siamese twins, and much more. One passage mentions "certain monstrous foules which were in Castle Coeur [England] late seen, Which feathered were about their neckes as though they ruft had ben." This is illustrated by a remarkable drawing of a bird with a ruff, with the following note appended: "Seauen of these

upon it by the belief in God's direct revelation of his displeasure with his erring creatures and that the date is his own invention. But the humor of an amusing and ingenious twist of the plot is impaired by confusing the issue with Spanish soldiers and not perceiving that Ananias's violent reaction to gaudy dress is not only characteristic but characteristically expressed.

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SIR JOHN HARINGTON AND LEONE EBREO

The *Dialoghi di Amore* have often been mentioned among the Neo-Platonic works that contributed to the Renaissance theory of love. Yet, to my knowledge, no clear instance of their influence on any Elizabethan poet or scholar has yet been discovered. It is, therefore, not uninteresting to find in Harington's *Apologie of Poetrie*, a plain, though unacknowledged, quotation from Leone Ebreo. His fivefold allegorical interpretation of the myth of Perseus is translated word for word from the *Dialoghi* without indication of source. I reproduce both the original and the copy.

"Perseo figliuolo di Giove finitione (= finzione) poetica ammazzo Gorgone, & vincitore volo nell' ethere, che é el piu alto del cielo. il senso historiale é, che quel Perseo figliuolo di Giove, per la participatione delle virtù Giovali, che erano in lui, over per genealogia d'uno di quelli Re di Creta, o d'Athene, overo d'Arcadia, che furono chiamati Giove, ammazzo Gorgone tiranno nella terra: perche Gorgone in greco vuol dire terra, & per esser virtuoso fu essaltado da gli huomini fino al cielo. significa ancor Perseo moralmente l'huomo prudente figliuol di Giove, dotato delle sue virtù, il qual ammazando il vitio basso & terreno significato per Gorgone sali nel cielo della virtù. significa ancor allegoricamente primo, che la mente humana figliuolo di Giove, ammanzzando & vincendo la terrestreita della natura gorgonica, ascese a intendere le cose celesti, alte & eterne, nella qual speculatione consiste la perfettione humana. questa allegoria é

fouler or byrds were found and taken in Lyncolne sheere at Croley, 1588. wherof foure died in shorte space after they were taken, the other three lyued longer, as it is to see in the ballet printed of them." The drawing is reproduced in *British Pamphleteers*, ed. G. Orwell & R. Reynolds, 1948 (frontispiece), to which I owe my knowledge of it.

naturale, perche l'huomo é delle cose naturali. vuole ancor significare un' altra allegoria celeste che havendo la natura celeste figliuolo di Giove, causato col suo continuo moto la mortalità e corrutione ne corpi inferiori terrestri, essa natura celeste vincitrice delle cose corruttibili spicandosi dalla mortalità di quelle, voló in alto, & resto immortale. significa ancora l'altra terza allegoria theologale che la natura angelica, che é figliuola di Giove sommo Iddio creatore d'ogni cosa, ammazzando & levando da se la corporalita e materia terrea, significata per Gorgone, ascese in cielo."¹

"*Perseus* sonne of *Iupiter* is fained by the Poets to haue slaine *Gorgon*, and after that conquest atchieued, to haue flown vp to heauen. The Historicallsence is this, *Perseus* the sonne of *Iupiter*, by the participation of *Iupiters* vertues which were in him, or rather comming of the stock of one of the kings of Crete, or Athens so called, slew *Gorgon*, a tyrant in that countrey (*Gorgon* in Greeke signifieth the earth), and was for his vertuous parts exalted by men vp vnto heauen. Morally it signifieth this much: *Perseus* a wise man, sonne of *Iupiter*, endowed with vertue from above, slayeth sinne and vice, a thing base & earthly signified by *Gorgon*, and so mounteth vp to the skie of vertue. It signifieth in one kind of Allegorie thus much: the mind of man being gotten by God, and so the childe of God, killing and vanquishing the earthlinesse of this Gorgonicall nature, ascendeth vp to the understanding of heavenly things, of high things, of eternal things, in which contemplation consisteth the perfection of man: this is the naturall allegory, because man (is) one of the chiefe works of nature. It hath also a more high and heavenly Allegorie, that the heavenly nature, daughter of *Iupiter*, procuring with her continuall motion corruption and morality in the inferiour bodies, seuered it selfe at last from these earthly bodies, and flew vp on high, and there remaineth for ever. It hath also another Theologicall Allegorie: that the angelicall nature, daughter of the most high God the creator of all things, killing & overcomming all bodily substance, signified by *Gorgon*, ascended into heauen."²

Harington's extract shows at least that the *Dialoghi* were available to English scholars and courtly poets by the end of the sixteenth century.

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¹ Leone Hebreo, *Dialoghi di amore* (Vinegia, 1558), fol. 61 R-V.

² (*A preface, or rather a Briefe Apologie of Poetrie, and of the Author and Translator*; in G. G. Smith's *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, II, 202-203).

SHAKSPERE'S APHTHONIAN MAN

Two passages in Shakspeare enumerating the praiseworthy characteristics of a man are merely "varied" statements of exactly the same material, and their basic pattern is the "laus" of the grammar school Aphthonius.¹ The one passage is *Romeo and Juliet*, III, 5, 181-4; the other *Twelfth Night*, I, 5, 277-281. I place these two passages in parallel and in the Aphthonian scheme.

Genus	{	<i>A maioribus</i>
		A gentleman of noble parentage, Yet I suppose him virtuous, know him noble,
	{	<i>A patrimonio</i>
		Of fair demesnes, Of great estate,
Educatio	{	<i>Ab aetate</i>
		youthful, of fresh and stainless youth;
	{	<i>Ab institutione</i>
		and nobly train'd, free, learn'd and valiant;
Res Gestae	{	<i>Animi</i>
		Stuff'd, as they say, with honourable parts, In voices well divulged,
	{	<i>Corporis</i>
		Proportion'd as one's thought would wish a man; And in dimension and the shape of nature
		A gracious person:
	{	<i>Fortunae</i>
		Covered in <i>genus</i>

The passage in *Romeo and Juliet* gives the perfect pattern which is at places slightly obscured in the passage from *Twelfth Night*. For instance, "In voices well divulged" varies "Stuff'd, as they say, with honourable parts"; but it does not directly show the quality of the mind as does the original passage. Similarly, "free, learn'd and valiant" varies "and nobly train'd"; but by the ex-

¹ For a general discussion of Shakspeare's use of this section from Aphthonius, see Baldwin, T. W., *William Shakspeare's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke*, Vol. II, pp. 329-338.

gencies of versification it had to be slightly misplaced. Other minor touches point in the same direction.² It is clear that while both passages follow the pattern in Aphthonius, yet the passage in *Twelfth Night* is varied from that in *Romeo and Juliet*.

The same pattern from Aphthonius underlies a third passage in the Shakspeare corpus. This is *Troilus and Cressida*, I, 2, 274-8. "Do you know what a man is? Is not birth, beauty, good shape, discourse, manhood, learning, gentleness, virtue, youth, liberality, and such like, the spice and salt that season a man?" Here are Aphthonian characteristics, but not arranged in the Aphthonian scheme, though that scheme can be seen exerting its influence. Whatever the explanation, the fact is that the passage in *Troilus and Cressida* does not use the same technique as do those in *Romeo and Juliet* and *Twelfth Night*.

Thanks to the collection of bones by Professor Alfred Harbage in *Shakespeare's Ideal Man*, the reader will now be able to see that the skeleton—or should one say framework?—of Shakspeare's "Ideal Man" came from the closet of Aphthonius. If the reader will trouble to examine the section on praise and dispraise (*laus et vituperatio*) in the school Aphthonius, he will find also the same kind of literary flesh which Shakspeare has used. If he will further familiarize himself with the medieval and renaissance thinking which lies behind the school Aphthonius, he will then be able better to understand its "Ideal Man." But he will still need to explain why this "Ideal Man" as presented by the school Aphthonius proved to be only for an age while Shakspeare's men, never "ideal" and frequently quite otherwise, are for all time.

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²Incidentally, it is clear that when Shakspeare wrote the passage in *Twelfth Night* he thought that the correct reading in *Romeo and Juliet*, III, 5, 181 was "noble" as in Q2, etc., not "princely" as in Q1. Capell, and more recently Kittredge, have "corrected" him.

³*Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, p. 69. I am indebted to Professor Harbage for the juxtaposition of the three passages.

MASSINGER AND THE COMMEDIA DELL' ARTE

In a brief essay on the influence of Italian comedy upon Milton and Massinger, Isaac Disraeli advanced the opinion that the scene with the empiric in Massinger's *Emperor of the East* was modeled on a similar scene of an Italian burlesque comedy, perhaps a *Commedia dell' Arte*.¹ Massinger could have read of the Venetian mountebank, the archetype of the *ciarlatano* of the *Commedia*, in Thomas Coryate's *Crudities* (1611), and he doubtless knew Jonson's classic treatment of him in *Volpone*. Disraeli's assertion of a direct influence, however, finds support in an entry from the records of Sir Henry Herbert printed by Chalmers in his *Supplemental Apology*:

... a license to Mr. Lowins, on the 18th of February, 1630, for allowing of a Dutch Vaultier, at their Houses (the Globe and Blackfriars). A warrant was given to Francis Nicolini, an Italian and his Company, 'to dance on the ropes, to use Interludes, and masques, and to sell his powders and balsams': to John Puncteus, a Frenchman, professing Physic, with ten in his Company, to exercise the quality of playing, for a year, and to sell his drugs: On the 6th of March a license was given to Alexander Kukelson. . . .²

Both Nicolini and Puncteus must have been in charge of troupes performing plays which may have featured prominently scenes with a mountebank; and there can be no doubt that both men played the part of the *ciarlatano* in earnest.³ Now as their licenses were granted between February 18 and March 6, 1630, a full year before *The Emperor of the East* was acted, the dramatist had the opportunity to attend one or more of these "interludes" before he composed the scene with the empiric.

Whether Massinger was thus indebted for details to these interludes, which almost certainly were *Commedie dell' Arte*, cannot be determined because of the nature of that type of Italian comedy. On the other hand, his empiric, though not a Venetian mountebank, exhibits the foremost characteristics of both the archetype

¹ *Curiosities of Literature*, London, 1871, 311-315.

² *A supplemental Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare Papers*, London, 1709, 209.

³ For John Puncteus' charlatanism see *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1629-1631*, 223, 228, 236.

and the *ciarlatano* of the *Commedia*; he combines feigned obsequiousness with insufferable pomposity and self-assurance; furthermore, his jargon, with its Latin misquotations, associates him closely with the *Dottore*, another stock character of the *Commedia*.⁴ This similarity may be ascribed to international analogy, but as Massinger had the opportunity to attend the acting of *Commedie* a year before he completed *The Emperor of the East* it is indeed possible that he modeled his empiric on the *ciarlatano* of the *Commedia dell' Arte*.

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LUCAN, BACON, AND HOSTAGES TO FORTUNE

Bacon opened the essay "Of Marriage and Single Life" with the aphorism that "He that hath wife and children hath given hostages to fortune. . . ." This saying has become proverbial in the form which Bacon gave it, and is now regularly considered as his invention.

Apparently¹ no one has noticed the striking similarity between Bacon's sentence and a passage in Lucan's *Civil War* (or *Pharsalia*). On the field of Pharsalia, seeing that the battle is lost, Pompey prays to the gods to stop the slaughter and save the innocent. His own fate is already clear, and he offers his family as further victims:

Si plura iuvant mea volnera, coniunx
Est mihi, sunt nati; dedimus tot pignora fati.
(VII, 661-662)

We would normally assume that Bacon knew Lucan, and any possible doubt is removed by the fact that, near the end of *The*

⁴ Disraeli erroneously believed that Massinger based his characterization of the empiric on the *Dottore* of the *Commedia dell' Arte*. But the *Dottore* was a Doctor of Law, not of Medicine, and he parodied all knowledge and all science. The *ciarlatano* was another stock character, though both his part and that of the *Dottore* were often played by the same actor. See Flaminio Scala's *Il teatro delle faule* . . . Venetia, 1611, giornata II.

¹ I wish to record here my indebtedness to Professor R. P. Oliver of the Department of Classics, University of Illinois, who has obligingly checked a number of items of Lucan bibliography unavailable to me.

Advancement of Learning,² he quotes the phrase, "fatis accede deisque," from *Pharsalia*, VIII, 486.

In the light of these facts it seems highly probable that Lucan was the source of Bacon's aphorism on hostages to fortune.

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MILTON'S BUSIRIS

When in the first book of *Paradise Lost* Milton sought to describe the hosts of Lucifer prostrate on the burning marle, his mind turned easily to another frustrate horde—the regiments of Pharaoh that perished in the passage of the Red Sea.

whose waves o'erthrew
Busiris with his *Memphian Chivalry*
 While with perfidious hatred they pursu'd
 The Sojourners of *Goshen*. (306-9)

Bentley thought this passage spurious because, among other reasons, he could not believe that Milton would confuse the Busiris of ancient mythology with the Pharaoh of the Exodus. The attitude of commentators since the time of Bentley is best summarized by Verity's note on these lines.

Why M. identifies him with the Pharaoh who perished in the Red Sea, no one has ever explained. Some editors say that M. follows Raleigh's *History*; but Raleigh expressly states that Busiris was "the first oppressor of the Israelites" (p. 204), and that after *two* intervening reigns came "Cenchres drowned in the Red Sea" (p. 197, 1621 ed.). . . . Either M. follows some unknown authority, or he treats *Busiris* as a general title for the rulers of Egypt, like 'Pharaoh.'

But as in most cases of this nature, a little patient study of Milton's works provides the answer, for in his marginal notes to Irenicus' *Germaniae Exegeseos* he tells us that he has read the "Chronicle" of Melancthon. We should be surprised if Milton had not read this book because it was the most frequently printed universal history of the Renaissance. It existed in two states. Written

²J. M. Robertson, ed., *The Philosophical Works of Francis Bacon* (London, 1905), p. 161.

first in German by Carion it was translated into Latin by Bonnus and regularly reprinted. We also know that Carion sent a manuscript to Melancthon, who according to the 1572 preface of Peucer, rewrote it completely and printed it under the name of Carion. "Totum abolevit una litura, alio conscripto, cui tamen nomen Carionis praefuit." Throughout the sixteenth century the two chronicles were continually reissued and translated as Carion's *Chronicle* although the second version always carried the informative sub-title: "Augmented by Melancthon and Peucer." When Milton cites Melancthon's "Chronicle," he refers to this second version.

At the appropriate place in Melancthon's recension we find the authority for Milton's identification of Busiris with the Red Sea Pharaoh, and it also may be added that it is against this work that Raleigh is tilting, as was Reinerus Reineccius whose *Historia Julia* is the source of Raleigh's arguments. Melancthon wrote:

Deinde BUSIRIS, id est, Munitor, qui maxima opera extruit. Et Diodorus Siculus scribit, eum condidisse Thebas Aegyptias. Cum autem celebrata sit Busiridis crudelitas, quia dictur mactasse hospites, consentaneum est, famam crudelitatis ortam esse a saevitia, quam erga Ebraeos exercuit, necatis ipsorum infantibus. Et cum Pyramides aliquas construxerit, labore Ebraeorum constructas esse consentaneum est. Nam prope oppidum Busirin sunt tres Pyramides celebratissimae, quarum Plinius mentionem fuit. Apparet autem eodem nomine plures fuisse Reges Busirides. Postea fuit interregnum, quia deletio Rege in Mari rubro, cum educti sunt Israelitae diu in Aegypto varias seditiones fuisse credibile est.¹

Milton may have read the *Chronicle* because of its renown or because it carried the name of Melancthon whom he describes in *Tetrachordon* as "the third great luminary of reformation."² His reading of the orations of Isocrates might also have brought this matter to his attention for the standard edition—that of Wolfe—annotated the twelfth oration (on Busiris) by referring the reader to Melancthon's account.³

DON CAMERON ALLEN

¹ *Op. Cit.* (Witebergae, 1750), p. 71. The same text with slight variations appears in *Corpus reformatorum* (ed. Bretschneider, Halle, 1844), XII, 741.

² *Works* (New York, 1938), IV, 223.

³ Isocrates, *Scripta quae quidem nunc extant omnia* (Basileae, 1570), col. 6-4. There were many subsequent editions.

SMOLLETT'S GERMAN MEDICAL DEGREE

The medical education of Tobias Smollett was not unusual for the early eighteenth century. After the ordinary course of school education at the Dumbarton Grammar School, he was matriculated, in the early 1730's¹ at the University of Glasgow. Robert Anderson observes:

In Glasgow he formed an intimacy with some students of medicine, which, more than any predilection for the study, determined him to embrace the profession of physic; and by the advice of his relations, he was put apprentice to Mr. John Gordon, a surgeon of extensive practice, and a man of good sense, integrity, and benevolence.²

By 1739,³ at the age of nineteen, his apprenticeship was over and Smollett determined to leave Scotland and try his fortune in London. With the conclusion of this period of apprenticeship and university attendance, Smollett's formal medical education was ended. He did not take a degree at Glasgow in medicine, but had received, instead, the customary testimonials and licentiate.

It has been maintained that Smollett did take a doctorate in medicine at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and that the degree was conferred in June 1750.⁴ However, it has been noted that, early in the 1740's, when the Scotsman settled down to the practice of physic in Downing Street, Westminster, he already had taken the doctorate elsewhere.⁵ Although the exact date of this early degree cannot be fixed, it must now be admitted that it was taken, *in absentia*, from the German university of Giessen.

In Letter XI of the *Travels Through France and Italy*, Smollett

¹ Thomas Seccombe ("Smollett," *DNB*) gives 30 May 1736 as the date of his apprenticeship to John Gordon, and cites the Glasgow *Faculty Records* as source.

² *Miscellaneous Works of Tobias Smollett*, 4th ed., Edinburgh, 1811, I, 12.

³ Seccombe, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Neither Anderson, *op. cit.*, nor John Moore (*Works of Tobias Smollett*, 8v., London, 1797), mention this degree. Seccombe, *loc. cit.*, records it, and W. D. Taylor ("Tobias Smollett, M. D., Aberdeen, 1750," *Aberdeen University Review*, xxvi, 1939, 125-35) gives a long notice of it. But question may be raised: was the recipient Smollett the novelist? See "Smollett's Medical Degree," *N&Q*, 6th Series, xi, June 20 (1885), 487.

⁵ See *N&Q*, *loc. cit.*, and W. Minto, "Smollett," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed.

tells us of his consultation of the French physician, Charles Fizès of Montpellier. The consultation was not a happy one, but Dr.

Le 23 août 17

Mon cher ami Fontonelle -
 Puisque Jée M^r. Smollett dont
 tu m'avais parlé dans ta lettre
 il était venu me voir un jour
 pour une visite après la visite
 il s'est mis à rire à ma face.
 Je ne sache rien de son éducation
 mais je sais qu'il avait reçu un
 certificat de médecine à la faculté
 de Giessen, mais j'ai toujours
 entendu dire que Giessen donnait
 des certificats de médecine par poste
 en payant une certaine somme,
 ne parlons plus de cela et
 disons tout ce que j'y pense...
 avec de ton ami mes sincères
 salutations

A ton ami Ch. Fizès

Fizès's diagnosis has since been exonerated and maintained.* One of the results of this association of Smollett and Fizès is the curious

* See Thomas Seecombe, ed., *Travels Through France and Italy*, World's Classics Series, 1907, intro.

and important letter subjoined ⁷ which demonstrates, by Smollett's apparent admission, the Giessen doctorate.

It may be suggested, in view of the absence of date, that Smollett, if the need for the distinction of the doctorate was at any time important, would have entertained its necessity between 1739 (his departure for London, and the completion of his medical studies) and 1744 (when he took up residence in Downing Street). If we care to date the degree later, the doctorate at Aberdeen becomes increasingly difficult to accept. Without too much presumption it must be apparent that the Aberdeen degree needs further examination.

The letter has one further interest. It affirms, once again, despite the lengthy examination and contrary opinion of Martz,⁸ the authenticity of much of the material that went into the *Travels*.

FRANCESCO CORDASCO

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AT MRS. LIPPINCOTE'S AND TRISTRAM SHANDY

The Influence party in literary history is at present somewhat bullied by the alternative, or Miraculous Conception party. To whichever group the reader may feel sentimentally loyal, he will probably not feel belligerent over the academic issue if his attention is called to an instance of a Shandean turn of humor in present day fiction.

Devotees of *Tristram Shandy* relish the blend of mock and nearly-true pathos with which Sterne describes the gentleness of all-powerful but sympathetic human beings toward the indoor socialities of the common house fly. In Book II, chapter 12, Uncle Toby catches and carries to an open window a fly that has been too familiar with his scalp. His kindly address to the fly before he releases it is quoted again in essence in Book III, chapter 4. Later

⁷ The letter was furnished by Professor Armand Tutine of Toulouse. M. Tutine tells me that the Fizès letters (including the above) were published in a memorial biography published in Montpellier, 1828, but this I have not seen.

⁸ L. L. Martz, *The Later Career of Tobias Smollett*, New Haven, 1942, Chap. I.

on, in Book IX chapter 6, Corporal Trim tells of his brother Tom's experience in a sausage shop in Lisbon, where an attendant flapped the flies away from sausages with feathers tied to the end of a long cane.

A contemporary novel, *At Mrs. Lippincote's* (1945), by Elizabeth Taylor, is related geographically to *Tristram Shandy* by its Yorkshire setting. The twentieth chapter revives memories of Sterne as it invents a modern rendering of his theme of human power exercising compassion toward the weak, intrusive house fly, and as it seems inspired by his ribaldry.

In that chapter the wife of a Flight-lieutenant, Mrs. Davenant, is being called upon during the day by an unwelcome and hint-proof curate, Mr. Maffick. Mrs. Davenant returns to her kitchen to get on with her housework; Mr. Maffick densely follows her. There are flies in the kitchen. Mrs. Davenant swats at some of them with a folded telephone directory, and Mr. Maffick, staring curiously, asks why she does not swat the easy target made by two flies at rest together. She answers, "I never hit them when they're copulating. It would be simply the limit." Then, "'Would you like that?'" she asked with a show of innocence."

This drolly expressed Shandean mock-sentiment is immediately followed by a genuine humanitarian comment. Mr. Maffick suggests the use of fly-papers to catch pests, but Mrs. Davenant rejects that device. "'No, they're so cruel. Imagine it! Striving to free oneself until the legs leave the sockets. This way is bad enough.'" Mrs. Davenant goes on to make the point that experience with cruelty, even when it is the watching a fly dismembering itself, callouses sensitivity to human suffering.

At Mrs. Lippincote's is a highly literate work, so easily at home in the ways of the English novel that any doubt of the author's acquaintance with *Tristram Shandy* and with the currents of humor it instigated is not readily conceivable. To the credit of Elizabeth Taylor, one should notice that while she may owe to Sterne her skill in furnishing amusement over human sympathy toward the household fly with an ironical playing at sentiment, she advances beyond Sterne in achieving the truly humanitarian spirit, a serious understanding of the universal impulse that is inherent in the strong, to be cruel to the weak, whether house fly or human being.

Since it is one of the pleasures of the intellect to convert single

instances into universals, I will add a guarding note, that there are no other moments of sheer ribaldry in the book. In her later novel, *A View of the Harbour* (1947), Elizabeth Taylor checked the spiritedness that draws her prior novel so lightly on its entertaining way. Except for a naturalistic moment allowed to the paralyzed Mrs. Bracey early in the book, the author writes as if in awe of the repressionists, who may be described as the people who are afraid to let go lest they go to pieces. Laurence Sterne suffered no such fear; and perhaps in her forthcoming novels Elizabeth Taylor may resume her confidence in the humor that makes *At Mrs. Lippincote's* worthy of comparing to *Tristram Shandy*.

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A SHELLEY AND MARY LETTER TO CLAIRE

In one respect the history of Shelley, Mary, and Claire Clairmont has been confused by an error which first became public in 1886. In that year Dowden¹ published a rather important letter to Claire, begun by Mary and continued by Shelley.² Dowden drew his text from the original MS owned by H. Buxton Forman, and dated the letter 1822. The letter was next published by T. J. Wise³ in 1889; then by Roger Ingpen⁴ in the Julian edition (1926), dated "Spring, 1821"; and then by myself⁵ in 1944, dated [May 11, 1821]. The original MS is now in the Stark Collection at the University of Texas. It consists of 7 pp. 4to, the first four pages (one double sheet) in Mary's handwriting, the next three pages (a second double sheet) in Shelley's; page 8 contains the address in Mary's hand. The error referred to above consists in regarding Shelley's pages

¹ Edward Dowden, *The Life of P. B. Shelley* (London, 1886), II, 488-90.

² Dowden actually wrote (II, 490): "Probably accompanying this letter of Mary, the following letter went to Claire from Shelley."

³ [T. J. Wise, ed.], *Letters from P. B. Shelley to Jane Clairmont* (London, 1889), pp. 72-81.

⁴ Roger Ingpen and Walter E. Peck, eds., *The Complete Works of P. B. Shelley* (London, *Julian Editions*, 1926-30), x, 260-264.

⁵ Frederick L. Jones, ed., *The Letters of Mary W. Shelley* (Norman, Oklahoma, 1944), I, 139-142.

as a continuation of Mary's letter. His letter belongs to May, 1821, while Mary's letter belongs to January-February, 1822.⁶

The significance of this erroneous combination of parts of different MSS is mainly the false chronology which it gives to Claire's history. If these two part letters go together, Claire's deep distress over Allegra's health and her wild plans to rescue her and escape to America or elsewhere would date from May, 1821, for Shelley's part of the letter without the slightest possible question belongs to that time. Mary's part of the letter is full of Claire's desperate situation with reference to Allegra, but Shelley's portion is much more calm and is concerned with Claire's setting up a school like Miss Field's. In other words, Shelley is debating how Claire can make for herself some reasonably permanent situation since her residence with Professor Bojti's family at Florence was still experimental.⁷

Shelley's part of the letter can positively be dated May, 1821. It was written soon after the Shelleys went to the Baths of Pisa, and while Claire was at Florence. The only year in which these two circumstances were in conjunction was 1821, on May 8 of which year Shelley and Mary migrated to the Baths of Pisa.

In Mary's part of the letter it is equally plain that Byron was living at Pisa (where he arrived on November 1, 1821), and that he had been there for quite a while. Moreover, the Shelleys are searching for a house on the coast for the summer (as they were in fact in January-February, 1822),⁸ and they intended that it should not be near Byron's summer residence. Other signs which definitely point to January-February (or even early March), 1822, are plentiful. It must also be apparent that there is a close connection between Mary's letter and her definitely dated letter of

⁶ Mr. C. L. Cline of the University of Texas has examined the MS for me and says that the paper of Mary's part and the paper of Shelley's part differ in texture, size, and watermark. The double sheet used by Mary measures 25 x 18-9/10 centimeters, and has for watermark GBA in pp. 1-2 and a large ornamental shield in pp. 3-4; while the double sheet used by Shelley measures 24-4/5 x 21 centimeters, and has for watermark an indistinct monogram in pp. 1-2. This in itself is, of course, no proof that the two parts were not intended to go together.

⁷ Claire had gone to Florence on October 20, 1820. See Dowden, *Life of Shelley*, II, 349.

⁸ During February 7-11 Shelley and Williams were on a house-hunting trip to Spezzia. See the *Journal of Edward E. Williams* (with an Introduction by Richard Garnett. London, 1902), pp. 37-39.

February 20, [1822],⁹ urging Claire to come instantly to Pisa, and Shelley's letters of March and April to Claire.¹⁰ From January, 1822, until the death of Allegra on April 19, 1822, the Shelleys were genuinely alarmed over Claire's extravagant schemes.

Though it cannot be doubted that Shelley's and Mary's parts of the letter under discussion are not the original portions of one MS, it is more helpful to find the true combination of parts. The real continuation of Mary's letter by Shelley is the letter which is printed in the Julian edition as No. 572 (ix, 355-356). This letter, dated "Pisa, 1822" by the editor, fits Mary's perfectly, repeating precisely the same topics and opinions:—Byron's nearness and intimacy, his aroused and antagonistic state of mind, the danger of opposing him in Italy and the prospect that he will return to England before very long, the recent conversation with Byron about Allegra, etc. When Mary's letter and Shelley's "true continuation" of it are read together, one cannot doubt that one has read the letter written by Mary and Shelley and received by Claire at Florence.

Both Mary's and Shelley's letters to Claire are important documents in Claire's history; it is therefore worth some pains to break up their false union and to refer them to their proper dates.

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REVIEWS

Manuel de l'Anglais du Moyen Age des origines au XIV siècle.

II Moyen-Anglais. Tome Premier: Grammaire et Textes, Tome Second: Notes et Glossaire. By FERNAND MOSSÉ, Paris, Aubier, Éditions Montaigne, Paris. Pp. 380, 187 + 1. With 11 figures and 5 plates. = Bibliothèque de Philologie Germanique, publiée sous la direction de A. Jolivet et F. Mossé. XII.

When I saw these two volumes of *Moyen-Anglais*, I said to myself: at last, at last, a good textbook for Middle-English, and at what an

⁹ *The Letters of Mary W. Shelley*, I, 157.

¹⁰ Julian edition, x, 365-368, 375-376.

opportune time, when the best available reader, dating from 1905, has been out of print since the war!

A quick survey of Mossé's book was enough to justify my hopes—in the main. Here, indeed, is plenty of stuff: in vol. I we find a bibliography of 5 pages, a grammar of 144 pages, of which 44 deal with phonology, 50 with accidence, and 50 with syntax, the first Middle-English syntax that I have seen. And here are texts from the *Peterborough Chronicle*, *Poema Morale*, *Ancrene Wisse*, *Sawles Warde*, *Layamon's Brut*, *The Owl and the Nightingale*, *The Ormulum*, *King Horn*, *Kentish Sermons*, *Reinard and the Wolf*, *Proclamation of King Henry III*, *Havelock the Dane*, *Lyric Poems*, Robert Manning's *Handlyng Synne*, Michael Northgate's *Ayenbite of Inwit*, Richard Rolle of Hampole, Laurence Minot, *Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Perle*, *Mort d'Artur*, *Piers Plowman*, Barbour's *Bruce*, *Voyages of Sir John Mandeville*, John Wyclif, *Petition of the Mercery of London to Parliament*, John Trevisa, Chaucer, John Gower, and the *Towneley Mysteries*. There are five facsimiles of MSS to illustrate the texts.

The texts are selected both for linguistic and literary purposes. Each of them is prefaced with a literary introduction and some bibliographical references to the latest books on the subject. If there are Latin or French originals (or translations) these are printed at the bottom of the page under the texts. For the benefit of the beginner the texts are sometimes slightly normalized; the editor for instance changes *vuel* into *uvel* for that reason. But he does not mark the open or close *e*'s and *o*'s, which is a drawback, though it is, of course, a fully justifiable procedure. I have not checked on the accuracy of the printing of the texts.

Then there is vol. II, containing 86 pages of Notes and 86 of Glossary, as well as an Index of Proper Names.

The Notes discuss textual matters, the dialect, the orthography, the phonology, the morphology, the syntax, the vocabulary (frequency of loanwords), as well as style and versification in an introductory section. After that the editor buckles down to the interpretation of difficult passages in the text.

The Glossary lists a lot of forms with references to the word in its normal form, a good feature. For etymology, it refers the student to words in the NED in small capitals, Roman, if the word is still alive, Italics, if the word is now obsolete. This is a space-saving device.

I was rather surprised at the shortness of the Glossary, and I am afraid that Mossé has tried to save space in writing it. I wish he had given us something similar to Mätzner's Glossary in his unfinished *Altenglische Sprachproben*! But that would probably have swelled the Glossary to a size similar to the first volume, very likely a prohibitive undertaking. Checking the glossary on some of the texts; I found a few words missing, e. g. *apointen*, *enclosen*, *mount*,

sett aboute, and *verveine*. But as there was a note on *bi mount*, perhaps, the omission of *mount* from the Glossary was no accident. A man knowing either English or French could of course easily guess the meaning of the others.

It would be carping to quibble at the Glossary, in view of what Mossé has given us in the rest of the book. For it should be obvious from the above description how admirable the plan of the book is and how well executed in all its essentials. Mossé's exposition is as clear and lucid as the complicated subject will allow. The phonological description of dialects has been effectively aided by the adoption of the dialect maps of Moore-Meech-Whitehall. The description of the French element is naturally handled with special care, and ease. But though the author has many precursors in the phonological field his treatment of that subject is perhaps not quite as good as that of the syntax, the *pièce de resistance* of the book, and a field where he has had very little aid from others. His syntax is based on examples from his own texts, as was the case in his Old English syntax in the First Part of this book. His book would, indeed, be an important publication though he had nothing else to offer but the syntax.

It goes without saying that one can find in a work of such scope several instances where one would disagree with the author or even find that he was in error. In the following I shall comment upon the paragraphs of Mossé's Grammar where I do not agree with him. I shall use P. for paragraph.

P. 19. Instead of stating that a short vowel is lengthened in an open syllable and giving examples of $a > \bar{a}$, $e > \bar{e}$, it would have been more practical to say that the short vowels *a*, *e*, *o* are so treated, and give examples.

P. 28. Mossé's treatment of OE \bar{e} seems unorthodox: according to him \bar{e} in *dæl* ($< *dāli < *daili$) as well as in *dēd* (WGM $*dād$) result in \bar{e} everywhere, except in Kent where both give \bar{e} . Both Luick and Wyld assume \bar{e} for most of the Anglian territory,—and Mossé himself seems to agree with them later, when he marks the preterite plural of strong verbs of Classes IV and V (*stēlen*, *mēten*) with a close \bar{e} .

P. 30. Remarque II. Probably by printer's error OE Anglian \bar{a} south of the Humber is said to give \bar{o} instead of \bar{a} , examples *ōld*, *cōld*, *hōlden*. But cf. notes to PP. 85-87.

P. 31, 1. A form *bygeð*, 3. pers. sg. ind., is quoted as the original form of *bygeð*, but only the latter is found in OE. While discussing the diphthongs in section 2 and 3 of this paragraph, the author fails to make it clear that $\bar{o}h$, $\bar{o}g$ tend to become \bar{u} much as $\bar{e}g$ turns to \bar{i} in his Remarque III above.

P. 36. Here in Remarque I the case of the analogical *-e* in words like ME *lōr(e)*, from OE *lār*, might have been mentioned.

P. 48. The form *hros* must be exceptional, if it is OE, but we have ON *hross*.

P. 49, 11. *H* was lost before *l*, *n*, *r*, but the author does not mention *hw > w* at this point, because apparently he attributes this "loss" to the Anglonorman scribes. It is a point difficult to decide. Perhaps *hw* became

w- in the South at the same time as *f-, s-* turned into *v-, z-* (cf. P. 44, 1), since Modern Southern English shows that *h* has been dropped.

P. 85-86. The author's preterite plural forms, *stēlen*, *mēten*, with a close Anglian *ē*, are in agreement with the orthodox theory of this vowel while they militate against Mossé's definition on P. 28. Here, in addition, are probably some printer's errors: *ō* for *ȝ* in Remarque III, and *y-meten* for *y-mēten* in the pp. of his paradigm of Class V. In the following P. 87 there are more printer's errors of the same sort: *hȝf-* *hȝven* . . . *swȝr-* *swȝren*, which all should have close *ō*, not open *ȝ*.

Here it must be noted, that though the author differentiates *ē/ĕ* and *ō/ȝ* in the paradigms of his strong verbs, as we have just seen, and off and on elsewhere in the Grammar, especially in the phonology, he does not do it consistently. This is a great pity, especially in the grammar, for it must inevitably confuse the beginner. Perhaps Mossé's printers did not have type enough to carry out the distinction throughout the book.

In P. 85 a remark is called for to indicate the (Scandinavian) preterite plural in verbs of Class IV (and V) in the *Peterborough Chronicle* where we find forms like *iafen*, *waren*, *namen*, *drapen*, *for-baren* in the text that Mossé prints. Such a remark had perhaps better be relegated to the introductory Note on the *Chronicle*, but it is missing there too.

P. 90. *hȝpen* should be *hȝpen*, etc.

P. 91. *tȝlde* should be *tȝlde*, etc.

P. 94. Here the author gives a paradigm of the verb *hēren* 'dire'; but is there such a meaning of this verb? Probably he means 'entendre' (from OE *hieran*, *hēran*, rather than from *herian* 'praise').

P. 96. Instead of Southern *siz* = saw, I should have preferred *seih*, *seie*, etc. as more common forms. Still, *sih* does occur in Gower.

In the Syntax I have not noticed much to be commented on.

P. 110, 1. In *be nihtes* and *be dæies* I should prefer to look upon the forms as (acc.) plurals governed by *be*, rather than as gen. sg. In section 2. I should think one could interpret *heordemonne* as gen. pl. rather than gen. sg.

PP. 113-14. Here no examples are given of adjectives used as substantives without any articles. Such are e.g. 2/36 *habbeð oft unhȝlde*, 3/49 *efter monies wēne*, and 11/19 *onī oþer onie*.

P. 123, 3. Since the definite article instead of a possessive pronoun is common in Icelandic (Old and Modern), and since the author adduces examples of such usage from the *Peterborough Chronicle* I wonder whether we might have to do with another point of Scandinavian influence in that monument.

P. 138. Apart from the ordinary perfect and pluperfect which Mossé exemplifies here, I think there is another perfect (and pluperfect?) used in narrative in much the same way as in present-day French and German: *und er hat gesagt* 'and he said,' i.e. it is the equivalent of a narrative preterite. I think we have it in Barbour's *Bruce* 22/450 *And quhen the kynȝis hounde has seyn* (= saw) / *Thai men assale his mastir swa*, / *He lap till ane* . . .

I have noticed nothing in the introductions to the texts, except that, in the introduction to the *Ormulum*, he probably should have mentioned E. R. Curtius's review of Glunz's book, and, in the

introduction of *Havelock the Dane*, Ólafr Tryggvason is said to have taken part in the Battle of Brunanburh—no doubt by confusion with the Battle of Maldon, where Ólafr may have fought. The name *Bircabein* is apparently derived from *Birkibeinar*, 'Birch-legs,' the nickname of the followers of King Sverrir.

Mossé's textbook in Old English—volume I of this series—would be well worth translating into English, were it not for the fact that there are several textbooks to be had in that field. But it is imperative that this textbook of Middle English be translated, and that quickly, since there are practically no textbooks of Middle English available, and none whatever of this type.

In an English edition Mossé could easily correct the chief drawback of this one by making a clear distinction of open and closed vowels, at least in the phonology and the accidence of the Grammar, and preferably in the normalized catch-words of the Glossary. The Glossary, too, could perhaps stand a little improvement. But until this translation appears, American Universities should use Mossé's French edition, though it may not prove an easy nut to crack for the average student.

STEFÁN EINARSSON

Die Freien Rhythmen in der Deutschen Lyrik. Versuch einer übersichtlichen Zusammenfassung ihrer entwicklungsgeschichtlichen Eigengesetzlichkeit. Von AUGUST CLOOS. Bern: A. Francke Verlag. [1947] 198 S. s. fr. 16.50.

Der Besprecher hat dieses Buch über ein Jahr lang hin und wieder zu ergründen versucht und hat sich dabei wiederholt genötigt gesehen, den Titel aufzuschlagen, um sich zu vergewissern, daß hier die Eigengesetzlichkeit der Freien Rhythmen in ihrer Entwicklungsgeschichte übersichtlich zusammengefaßt werden soll. Er hat sich genötigt gesehen, da ihm Besprechung eine Gewissenssache ist, da das Buch von breiter Belesenheit in Literatur und Fachwissenschaft zeugt, da auf dem Titelblatt zugleich der Name eines bekannten akademischen Lehrers und eines angesehenen Verlags steht.

Zweifellos hat das Buch seine Eigengesetzlichkeit; aber weder von Zusammenfassung, noch von Entwicklungsgeschichte, noch von Übersicht kann hier die Rede sein, es sei denn, daß man die Letztere in den drei chronologischen Tabellen fände, deren Zusammenhang mit der vorliegenden Untersuchung aber rätselhaft bleibt. Denn die erste Tabelle reicht von 1587 bis 1724 und enthält außer vierzehn Namen deutscher Dichter und einiger ihrer Werke Eintragungen wie: Das Spießsche Faustbuch, Niederlage der spanischen Armada, Autorisierte Version der Bibel, Jakob Böhmes *Morgenröte*, Dreißigjähriger Krieg, Gustav Adolfs Tod, Commonwealth in England, Leopold I., Belagerung von Wien, Widerruf des Edikts von

Nantes, *Robinson Crusoe* und vierundzwanzig Namen ausländischer Dichter, die in keinem Zusammenhang mit dem Thema stehn. (Lockes *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* erweckte im Besprecher ein unbehagliches Gefühl seiner Lage.)

Die zweite Tabelle (1770-1843) gibt Daten der Goethezeit in rätselhafter Auswahl, z. B.

1789 Französische Revolution, Schiller Professor in Jena, Kotzebues *Menschenhaß und Reue*
oder

1840 Mörike: *Der alte Turmhahn*, Geibel: *Gedichte*, Hebbel: *Judith*

"Heine: *Ardinghello*" ist natürlich ein Druckfehler; aber Heines Harzreise wird eingetragen, jedoch keine Gedichtsammlung und nicht einmal die *Nordseebilder* noch irgend sonstige Daten die Freien Rhythmen betreffend. Die Zwischenzeit zwischen den beiden Tabellen von 1724 bis 1770, d. h. zwei Drittel von Klopstocks Leben und Dichten (dem doch im Text ein eigenes Kapitel gewidmet wird) existiert nicht, sowie das ganze 19. und 20. Jahrhundert von der "Aufführung von Wagners *Fliegendem Holländer*" (1843) ab, denn die dritte Tabelle gibt nur biographische Daten für Hölderlin, deckt sich also chronologisch völlig mit der zweiten.

Mehr als ein Drittel des Buches wird bestritten von dem Abdruck von Gedichten, die in jeder besseren Anthologie, selbst in eines Studenten Handbibliothek stehn. Fünf Seiten werden in Anspruch genommen von einer "Ausgewählten Bibliographie," in der Titel wie Gundolfs Goethe, Obenausers Hölderlin, Mme de Staëls *De l'Allemagne*, Walzels Prometheussymbol, ja sogar ein Artikel des Besprechers über Goethe und Schubert u. a. den Raum für metrische Werke beschränken.

Was nun die Theorie der Freien Rhythmen betrifft, so wären die unklaren Kapitel über Fragen des "Ursprungs der Lyrik," "Schöpfung im Unbewußten," "Inspiration als Gegenstand der Poesie," da sie meist nur Lese Früchte enthalten, zumal aber der lange Diskurs über "Plato, Tolstoy, Horaz, Vida, Boileau" durchaus entbehrlich, denn der Verfasser verliert sich besonders hier, aber auch später immer wieder, in lange biographische und literarhistorische Zettelkästen, wie z. B.:

Es ist wohl richtig, daß von dem höfisch ausgeglichenen Versmaß bei Gottfried von Straßburg und später bei Konrad von Würzburg ein fast ebener Weg zu Opitz hätte führen können, wären nicht drei Jahrhunderte dazwischen, in denen Altes stürzte und Neues emporstieg: wir denken an den Verfall der Ritterblüte, die Verholzung des Minnesangs, die Verbürgerlichung des Tones, die Verlotterung der Knittelversform, den Goethe später wieder in Ehren einsetzte, ferner an die politischen und reformatorischen Kämpfe der Übergangszeit, schließlich an den Sprachwandel selbst und die Eindeutschung des Humanismus, während das Volkslied ungebrochen sein Eigendasein weiterlebte, das Kirchenlied neue, mächtige Anstöße erfuhr

und sich das einfache Gesellschaftslied entwickelte. Volkslied und Kirchenlied wurden zuerst einstimmig, und mit dem Anbruch der modernen Zeit auf der Schwelle des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts auch mehrstimmig gesungen. u. s. w. (S. 56)

Oder S. 125:

Schon als Freund, literarischer Berater und Vermittler ist Tieck eine hervorragende Erscheinung. Er gab die Werke von vier Dichtern heraus: Michael Reinhold Lenz, Novalis, Wackenroder, Heinrich von Kleist. Die Bedeutung von Tieck für die Einführung wichtiger, romantischer Motive ist heute noch immer nicht völlig anerkannt, z. B. das Motiv von der "mondbeglänzten Zaubernacht" u. s. w.

Das alles hat mit den Freien Rhythmen nichts, garnichts zu tun, und der Raum wäre so nötig gewesen für eine klare und eindeutige Feststellung der grundlegenden metrischen Termini und ihres Gebrauchs und für ihre systematische Anwendung. Statt dessen haben wir eine verwirrende Fülle von Zitaten aus den Verslehren bekannter Metriker, die, weil in Sätzen oder Abschnitten aus dem Zusammenhang gerissen, uns im Dunkel läßt über ihre Grundbegriffe und uns nur mehr verwirrt durch den so oft nicht gleichen Sinn identischer Termini. Noch schlimmer ist es mit den Zitaten aus Dichtern (S. 32 ff.), die bekanntlich selten Richter sind und mit ihrer Polemik die Begriffe überspannen, sodaß sie nur einen temporären aber keinen Allgemeinwert haben. Auch in des Verfassers eigenen Ausführungen entstehen allerlei Widersprüche, z. B. wenn es auf Seite 25 heißt: "Währenddem der romanische Vers auf Grund der Silbenordnung aufgebaut ist, ist der germanische Vers wesentlich, wenn auch nicht restlos, vom Akzent abhängig," aber auf Seite 81: "Der deutsche Rhythmus ist nicht nur akzentuierend und . . . der französische nicht nur silbenzählend und alternierend."

Der Leser möge selbst nach einigen Proben über den dithyrambischen Stil des Buches urteilen:

Bei George ist hier das Rollen der Räder in das Rollen der Gedanken eingesponnen. (S. 192)

George jedoch schuf sich auf einsamstem Weg eine geistige Höhe, die sich aus den Quellen der Geschichte speiste und aus denen der Ästhetik. (S. 191)

Die Frage nach der Eigenart der deutschen Lyrik wurde durch geistvolle Antithesen z. B. "direkt—indirekt" (E. M. Butler in "The direct method of German Poetry"), "unmittelbar—mittelbar," "Werden—Sein" (G. Simmels Rembrandtbuch) u. a. eingefangen. Mme de Staël war der Ansicht, daß die deutsche Lyrik in die Tiefen unseres Seins tauche ("often blends metaphysics with poetry") und in erster Linie nicht Naturnachahmung sondern Idealschönheit erstrebe. Solche Antithetik ist, wenn auch nicht restlos, wahr. Niemand kann der deutschen Lyrik oder dem deutschen Künstler überhaupt Tiefe und Exzeß absprechen, aber einem Beethoven steht ein Mozart gegenüber, einem Richard Wagner ein Bach; in der Malerei denken wir unwillkürlich an Dürer—Grünewald, Leibl—Böcklin; in der Dichtung an Gottfried—Wolfram, Goethe—Hölderlin, Schiller—Heine, oder Rilke und George." (S. 26)

Wie es im deutschen Barock kaum einen namhaften Lyriker gibt, der sich

nicht auf Opitz bezieht oder von ihm abhängig ist, so scharen sich in der "Sturm- und Drangzeit" fast alle verheißenden oder bedeutenden Dichter um Klopstock. Nur der Göttinger Professor Lichtenberg höhnte über die Wahnsinnsausbrüche der "Sturm und Drang"-Originale ("Paracletor," II, 207). Diese und der Göttinger Hainbund schwelgten in Klopstocks freien Rhythmen, die sich von der Begeisterung für die hebräischen Gesänge, für Pindar, Shakespeare und Ossian nährten. (S. 72)

(War Lichtenberg ein Dichter? War er der einzige, der sich über diese Frösche lustig machte, die sich zum Ochsen aufbliesen (Stilling)? Und wie war es denn mit Lessing und seinem Urteil über Goethes Werther oder sogar mit Herder und dem Seinen über Götz?)

Das Problem der Freien Rhythmen ist verwickelt genug, daß es nicht noch verwirrt zu werden brauchte durch Einführung von Goethes "Auf dem See" (das doch reguläres Metrum hat) oder gar durch Mörikes "Denk es, o Seele," das ja doch nicht "fast durchweg alternierend mit Zwei- und Dreihebern" ist, sondern durchaus den jambischen Fünfheber gebraucht, den Goethe z. B. in seiner (allerdings gereimten) Zueignung zu den Gedichten genau so die Zäsur wechseln läßt nach dem zweiten oder nach dem dritten Akzent. Daß Mörike im Druck die Reihe bricht, ist nur ein Behelf für den Leser.

Man kann nur hoffen, daß die versprochene englische Ausgabe des Buches eine grundlegende Umarbeitung erfahre.

ERNST FEISE

Goethe und das deutsche Schicksal. Von REINHARD BUCHWALD.
München: Münchner Verlag (1948), 346 S.

Aus der Not der Zeit heraus sucht man in Deutschland nach einem tragfähigen Geistesgrunde, auf dem ein neues Staatsgebäude zu errichten wäre und kehrt zu der Epoche deutschen Geisteslebens zurück, in der einst nach dem Zusammenbruch des Ersten Reiches eine neue Hoffnung und eine Kraft erwachte, welche die Fesseln des fremden Eroberers zerbrach, wenn auch damals die Kraft nicht ausreichte, die wieder auseinanderstrebenden Geister des Volkes zur Schöpfung einer wahren Volksgemeinschaft zusammenzuschließen aus unerschütterlichem "Gemeindrang," wie der alte Goethe es nannte.

Ost und West scheinen sich zu verbinden, um ein neues Goethebild zu schaffen, das auch dem politischen Goethe gerecht zu werden sucht, der gewöhnlich als uninteressiert an den gewaltigen Umwälzungen seiner Zeit oder als sich, mit Verachtung der politischen, ja historischen Welt, aus ihnen in die Dichtung und Naturwissenschaft flüchtend dargestellt worden ist. Hatte Lukács, der un-

garische Forscher, in seinem Goethebuch (siehe *MLN* xiv, 4 S. 275) die politischen und socialen Ideen Goethes in seinen Werken, dem *Werther*, *Meister*, dem Briefwechsel mit Schiller, besonders aber dem *Faust*, wenn auch auf Marxistischer Grundlage, aufzuzeigen gesucht, so unterzieht nun der Heidelberger Literaturhistoriker Reinhard Buchwald, schon in seinen kürzlich erschienenen Werken "Führer durch Goethes Faustdichtung" und "Vermächtnis der deutschen Klassiker" auf ähnlichen Spuren, das ganze Goethische Leben einer solchen Untersuchung, gestützt auf alle zur Verfügung stehenden Quellen.

Der Erste Teil dieses Buches gibt einen Längsschnitt, "Goethes Leben in seiner Verflechtung mit den weltgeschichtlichen Ereignissen" und hebt, stärker als das bis jetzt getan worden ist, die Bedeutung des Anstoßes heraus, die der Dichter durch Möser's *Osnabrückische Geschichte* erhielt, welche in der Besprechung beim Besuche Karl Augusts die Freundschaft mit dem Herzog anbahnte. Sie führt zu des Dichters Berufung nach Weimar und seinem Versuche, die Möser'schen Anregungen in Wirklichkeit umzusetzen, bis er die Vergeblichkeit begreift, in einem kleinen und armen Staate den Verfall des großen Reiches zu hemmen. Mit Grauen ahnt und erlebt er den europäischen Einsturz in der französischen Revolution, die er seit der Halsbandaffäre hat kommen sehn und für die er durchaus nicht das Volk verantwortlich macht. Er bekämpft aber mit Wort und Tat die Ausbreitung dieser Bewegung im eignen Volke, das ihm für eine solche Umwälzung völlig unvorbereitet scheint. Durch Schillers Erkenntnis seiner vorbildlichen Griechheit aus der verzweifelten Resignation gerissen, beginnt er nun mit jenem die Arbeit an einer geistigen Erneuerung seines Volkes, einer bewußten Volkserziehung. Aber Schillers Tod und die furchtbaren Ereignisse des Napoleonischen Krieges werfen ihn wieder auf sich selbst zurück. Getäuscht in seinen Hoffnungen, daß das Genie des Eroberers ein Friedensreich errichten werde, bestätigt in seinen Kassandraprophetien, daß man für den großen Tyrannen hundert kleine eintauschen werde, verzweifelnd an seinen Zeitgenossen, die er nie müde wird, zum "Gemeindrang" und zum Zusammenschluß wenigstens in kleinen Kreisen aufzurufen, wirft er schließlich seine Hoffnung auf die Jungen und Jüngsten ("Erwachsne gehn mich nichts mehr an, / Ich muß nun an die Enkel denken").

Noch einmal sieht er die Katastrophe voraus, aber er bagatellisiert sie nicht, indem er den Streit zwischen Cuvier und Geoffroy de St. Hilaire für wichtiger erklärt als die Kunde von dem Ausbruch der Revolution von 1830, wie das durch Eckermanns Umarbeitung eines Soretschen Gespräches in die traditionelle Darstellung übergegangen ist (Buchwald S. 379). Das Gespräch mit Soret über die Vorgänge in der französischen Akademie war am 2. August, während die Nachricht vom Ausbruch der Revolution erst am dritten in Weimar eintraf, wie das H. H. Houben nachgewiesen hat.

Am Abend seines Lebens hat sich dann Goethe der Blick und die Hoffnung auf eine Weltgeschichte und eine Weltliteratur aufgetan, die nicht zugleich ein Aufgeben nationaler Kultur zu bedeuten braucht.

Dieser Längsschnitt wird nun im zweiten Teil des Buches durch Querschnitte ergänzt und in gewissenhafter Darstellung verbreitert und erläutert.

In einfacher Sprache, in steter Bemühung um einen willigen, selbst nicht allzu eingeweihten Leser, aber auch dem Goethekenner unentbehrlich, eröffnet dieses Buch eine klare Einsicht in ein Feld Goethischer Tätigkeit, die nur allzu oft durch wahllose Zitate eine flache, wenn nicht völlig irreleitende Behandlung erfahren hat. Man hat bei jeder Seite den Eindruck, daß es dem Verfasser zu tun ist um mehr als eine gelehrte Arbeit trotz seiner gründlichen und durchdachten Quellenstudien und daß es ihm herzensernst ist mit dem einleitenden Goethezitat: "Übrigens ist mir alles verhaßt, was mich bloß belehrt, ohne meine Tätigkeit zu vermehren oder unmittelbar zu beleben."

ERNST FEISE

Gottfried Keller, Geschichte seines Lebens. Von ERWIN ACKERKNECHT. Leipzig: Insel-Verlag, 1948. 394 S.

Gottfried Keller, Grundzüge seines Lebens und Werkes. Von Professor Dr. HERMANN BOESCHENSTEIN. Bern: Paul Haupt, 1948. 178 S.

Die beiden vorliegenden Bücher über Gottfried Keller ergänzen sich aufs glücklichste, indem die Biographie Ackerknechts ausdrücklich darauf verzichtet, eine planmäßige Erläuterung der Werke des Dichters zu geben, Boeschenstein dagegen eine Bekanntheit mit dessen Leben und Werken voraussetzt und ihre Wechselwirkung und Ideenwelt behandelt. Es bliebe nun noch zu wünschen, daß eine Gesamtuntersuchung der Werke Kellers uns eine endgültige Darstellung ihrer Motive und Formen vermittelte.

Erwin Ackerknecht, bekannt durch sein Interesse für Volksbildung, früher Direktor der Stettiner Stadtbibliothek, jetzt des Schiller-Nationalmuseums, kommt in seiner Lebensbeschreibung Kellers der von ihm bescheiden übergeordneten Biographie Baechtold-Ermatingers wohl nicht an Fülle gleich (dem Plane des Buches gemäß), übertrifft sie jedoch an Geschlossenheit und Lesbarkeit, gerade weil er seinen Blickpunkt auf die Kunst der Darstellung richtet und wissenschaftliche Exkurse ausschließt, ohne indessen die selbständige Verarbeitung der Quellen zu verleugnen. Begabt mit einem Blick für Wesentliches und einem warmen, erfrischenden Humor, zeichnet der stammesverwandte Schwabe uns nicht nur ein

köstliches Bild des so knorrigen wie feinfühligten und trotz—oder wegen—seiner Schrullen und Kanten so rührend liebenswerten, grundgütigen Dichters, sondern rundet auch zugleich dessen Werdegang und Wirkungskreis unter Freunden und Heimatgenossen zu einem Zeitbilde, das sich von Jahr zu Jahr seiner Entwicklung anreichert, bis rings um ihn die Schatten des Todes fallen und endlich das "vielgeübte Herz" seinen letzten Schlag tut.

Man legt nicht oft eine Biographie aus der Hand mit dem Gefühl: "Noch einmal von vorne." Mit dieser sollte es vielen so gehn.

Viel größere Ansprüche an die Vorkenntnis des Lesers macht das Buch von Kellers Landsmann Boeschstein (University of Toronto). Man muß seinen Keller fast auswendig kennen, um der zugleich immer aufs Ganze und Einzelne gehenden Untersuchung folgen zu können, die des Dichters Weltanschauung aus seinen Werken zu erschließen und die Gesetze seiner Entwicklung zu ergründen sucht. Die Fragestellung schon bringt es mit sich, daß, wie Boeschstein sagt, wir das Leben Kellers nicht ablösen können von dem tüchtigen bürgerlichen Wandel, da bei ihm nie "das Leben vom Werk überwältigt, ausgesogen und zur bloßen Nahrungsquelle gemacht wird." So ist denn auch vielleicht das letzte Kapitel ("Keller als schweizerischer Mensch und Dichter") der Höhepunkt dieser Darstellung. Wenn hier Meister Gottfried als Hüter der geistigen Pässe seiner Heimat und als christlicher Humanist erscheint, so geht dieser Schluß wohl vorbereitet aus einer über das Ausgesprochene und Rationale hinaus in der Tiefe von Kellers Seele lesenden Interpretation hervor. Auch aus der zuerst befremdenden Gegenüberstellung von Keller und Nietzsche treten neue Züge klarer heraus, und es ist eine glückliche Bemerkung, daß Kellers dichterisches Schaffen so ziemlich zusammenfällt mit der Zeit der Ausbildung der schweizerischen Bundesverfassung (1848-1874).

Als gefährlich dagegen erweist sich für die Beurteilung des Lebens sowie die Wertung der Werke hier und da eine Verwischung der Grenzen. Wenn Boeschstein die Hand eines leitenden Schicksals zu sehen glaubt in Kellers schweren Jugenderlebnissen und die Narben übersieht, an denen er noch im Alter leidet, die Hemmungen, die es ihm nur gelingt durch den Kompromiß eines bärbeißigen und leicht melancholischen Humors zu überwinden (und auch das nicht immer ganz), so usurpiert der Biograph hier das Recht des Dichters, der die Fäden der Entwicklung seines grünen Heinrichs im Kausalgespinnst eines Romans zur Teleologie seines Lebenglaubens verweben darf. Im Leben des Dichters haben wir aber das Recht zu fragen, was wäre aus diesem so ernsten und empfindlichen Menschen erst geworden, wenn ihm seine Mitmenschen und Mitbürger von Anfang an ein wenig mehr auf die Sprünge geholfen hätten. Vielleicht hätte er dann bei einer Liebeswerbung sogar seine zu kurz geratenen Beine vergessen.

In der Bewertung der Werke, andererseits, geht es kaum an,

immer die ganze Tiefe Kellers zu verlangen und, wo diese nicht offenbar zu Tage tritt, wie in der Kalendergeschichte vom "Fähnlein" oder in der Schneidernovelle, die Forderung des Genres zu übersehen. Gerade diese besondern Kausalgesetze jeder seiner Geschichten machen die Größe des Erzählers aus, der ein Recht hat auf das, was Keller "die Reichsunmittelbarkeit der Poesie" nennt, "das Recht, zu jeder Zeit, auch im Zeitalter des Fracks und der Eisenbahnen, an das Fabelmäßige ohne weiteres anzuknüpfen." Im Gegensatz dazu ist die Verwandtschaft so mancher Gedichte seiner Frühlyrik wohl kaum, wie Boeschstein meint, ein Vorzug. Keller selbst, immer scharf in der Beurteilung seiner Werke, nennt seine Gedichtsammlung "monotones Zeug," scheint also diesen Zug gerade peinlich empfunden zu haben. Seine besten aber stehen (Keller nennt sie "die fünf oder sechs Lufttöne"), wie bei Goethe in ihrer eignen Sonne da. Und während selbst so schöne Frühgesänge wie "Unter Sternen" und "Willkommen schöne Sommernacht" doch einer Interpretation bedürfen, ist das "Abendlied" in seiner klaren Bildhaftigkeit auch dem einfachsten Empfinden ohne weiteres zugänglich. Den Kenner aber weist "des Falters Flügelwehn" auf ein frühes unausgegorenes Gedicht zurück.

Daß trotzdem in einer Kellerschen Gedichtsammlung die Gelegenheitsgedichte nicht fehlen dürfen, wird durch die Hauptthese dieses verdienstvollen Buches erhellt, nämlich, daß man den Dichter Keller nicht von dem Menschen und Volksbildner trennen kann und soll.

ERNST FEISE

Stefan George und Thomas Mann. VON HANS ALBERT MAIER:
Speer Verlag Zürich, 1947, 192 pp. Sw. Frs. 9.50.

The attempt to combine under the same heading two authors as vastly different from each other as Stefan George and Thomas Mann may, at a first thought, seem arbitrary and unfruitful. Even without Thomas Mann's recent (and not so recent) satirical attack upon the George-circle in his *Doktor Faustus*, the gulf between the exclusive poet and the exclusive prose-writer, between the exalted prophet and the ironically analytical psychologist, between the uncompromisingly exacting aristocrat and the flexible and urbane "democrat" may appear unbridgeable. It is the present writer's great achievement to have discovered and to present convincingly the common ground upon which the works of two of the greatest German men of letters rest, the hidden relationship of their ultimate visions which, in his subtitle, he paraphrases as "Two Forms of the Third Humanism." It is an even greater achievement of his that, while exhibiting that which unites the two writers, he hardly ever blurs the contours of their individualities, and succeeds remarkably well in offering a "critical comparison."

The author recognizes as one of the decisive features of this Third Humanism the will to live, the renunciation of the romantic yearning for death, of the pessimism of decadence,—obvious enough in the case of Thomas Mann, but equally noticeable in Stefan George. By an intelligent analysis of the structure of George's early cycles of poetry, Mr. Maier lays bare the poet's "sympathy with death" which finds its latest manifestation in *Jahr der Seele*. To be sure, the turning away from the lure of the abyss presents itself under very different forms with the two poets. George excludes deliberately and by a conscious act of will all thoughts of death from his world, while Thomas Mann travels the "dangerous road to life" which leads through death.

The same "humanistic" refutation of the chaotic, dark and inarticulate is brought to light in the two writers' presentations of man's natural and cultural surroundings: George's vision of a light-flooded, cultivated landscape, the concrete and "classical" outline of his Rhineland, and Thomas Mann's gradual emancipation from the fascination by the shapeless and primeval sea to which he was so strongly attached in his youth. It is this same fear of the inconcrete, the esoterically inchoate which conditions the two writers' attitude toward music: George's majestic and haughty rebuff of the objectionable *Innerlichkeit* of music, Thomas Mann's lifelong struggle with and growing suspicion of the demonic elements in an art to whose lures he feels so dangerously exposed. Although Mr. Maier published his study before the appearance of *Doktor Faustus*, his discussion of Thomas Mann's love-hatred of music does not miss any significant points.

Since the humanist's basic conviction is the contention that "man is the measure of all things," the third chapter of Mr. Maier's book which deals with George's and Mann's image of man is especially instructive and illuminating. Under the headings "Life and Death," "Blood," "Heroism and Ethics," "Dionysian Forces," and "Concreteness in Time and Space" he discusses thoroughly the strictly anthropocentric cosmos of the two writers. It is on these pages that the author offers, above and beyond his critical comparison, penetrating and well-rounded spiritual profiles of both George and Mann. The last chapter "Religion and State" contrasts George's absolute and autocratic deification of a human being (Maximin) with Thomas Mann's playful and ironic humanization of the Divine (Joseph); George's domineering vision of a body politic with Thomas Mann's fundamental anti-statism, indeed such a basic characteristic of Thomas Mann that it is hard to agree with Mr. Maier's contention that the *Betrachtungen eines Unpolitischen* are only an episode in his development and "nicht notwendig von innen kommend" (p. 156).

It is particularly gratifying that Mr. Maier has not been misled by his comparative approach to extol one of his subjects at the expense of the other. He gives each of them his due, except in a

postscript, added somewhat later, which in spite of some fine observations (i. e. on the resemblance of Thomas Mann's conception of irony with Schiller's definition of the *Spieltrieb* in his *Briefe über die ästhetische Erziehung*) should have been omitted. On the other hand, his attempt to throw the differences between the two writers into sharp relief does not mislead him to formulate too bluntly. There are only a few instances where the vastness and comprehensiveness of philosophical conceptions in George's and Mann's works lead the author to somewhat ambiguous statements which, especially when lifted out of the context, could easily be objectionable. I would question his contention with reference to George: "nicht die Seele scheint den Leib, sondern der Leib die Seele zu formen," (p. 67), because the ideal of *kalokagathia* which is in the back of George's image of man, is missed by such a statement. For the same reason, the remark "George fragt weniger nach der Geistigkeit eines Menschen, vielmehr nach seiner unmittelbaren körperlichen Beschaffenheit" (p. 78) would be misleading, if on the next page the correction would not follow which makes it clear that "Blut" and "Geist" are not opposite powers in George's thinking. Without the necessary qualifications the author's statement that the Dionysian element is considered "lebensfeindlich" by the younger Thomas Mann (p. 104), or his equation of God's blessing of Jakob and Joseph with a blessing by "nature" (p. 91) are apt to give a wrong impression. But these minor inaccuracies of formulation correct themselves in the context so that the author's double monograph can be accepted as a very penetrating and authentic study of two leading literary figures of our century.

OSKAR SEIDLIN

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The Symbolic Persons in the Masques of Ben Jonson. By ALLAN H. GILBERT. Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press, 1948. Pp. xii + 296. 72 plates. \$6.00.

In a brief introduction to this extensive catalogue Professor Gilbert relates Jonson's use of symbolic persons to the intellectual fashion of his age; calls attention to the extent to which Jonson had available secondary compendia which provided his erudition with convenient short-cuts; discusses the disagreement between Jonson and Inigo Jones which was in part due to the designer's tendency to simplify symbolism and employ it for ornament whereas the inventor of the masques tended to overload the personages with attributes of moral and intellectual significance; and emphasizes Jonson's use of allegory and symbolism to convey instruction and counsel—in some cases even to King James.

The main body of the work is a list containing nearly four hun-

dred entries (including cross-references) of personified abstractions, gods of classical antiquity, mythological and legendary figures, half a dozen poets (Homer, Virgil, Lucan; Chaucer, Gower, Skelton), a few historical characters, ranging from Julius Caesar and Boadicea to Mary Ambree and Long Meg of Westminster, and a miscellaneous company which includes such oddities as Baby-Cake, Minc'd Pie, Christmas, Floods, and Fountains. Each entry has an accompanying commentary extending in length from a line or two to several pages. Professor Gilbert has not limited himself strictly to the masques but draws upon several of Jonson's plays as well as upon *Underwoods*; and several of his symbolic persons are not found except upon the title pages of the Jonson folios of 1616 and 1640 or upon the title page of Raleigh's *History of the World* for the design of which Jonson may have been in part responsible.

The commentaries point in the main towards the classical and other sources of Jonson's erudition and imagination and towards the encyclopedic works of references which he had at hand, particularly Cartari and Ripa (whence many of Professor Gilbert's illustrations are drawn). Occasionally the inquiry reaches beyond sources to embrace analogues of later date. Such citations cannot possibly be exhaustive, but the investigator might have cast his net more widely in various directions. Thus, under "Death" he notes that Jonson may have seen the skeleton on the tomb of the first Earl of Salisbury; but nothing is said of the many murals in English churches, some of which Jonson must have seen. Nearly a score of paintings of "The Three Living and the Three Dead" are still extant, or were so till recently. There are also instances of Time and Death juxtaposed on church walls. Jonson could have seen Dances of Death not only in churches but in the margins of the *Book of Christian Prayers*, a beautiful volume which went through several editions.

Other entries suggest similar comments. The "Envy" of the Induction to *The Poetaster* might have recalled the amusing incident of the Oxford performance of *The Christmas Prince* when an actor impersonating Detraction was "planted" in the audience and hissed so convincingly that the spectators went about to throw him out and had to be assured that he was one of the performers. The *Parcae* or Fates might have elicited a reminder of the impressive part they play in Dekker's *Old Fortunatus* and Peele's Lord Mayor's Show. For "Pecunia" in *The Staple of News* Professor Gilbert discusses no source. Did Jonson perhaps obtain suggestions from T. A.'s (Thomas Acheley's?) *The Massacre of Money* (1602)? Many other examples besides those cited were accessible to Jonson of the figure of Peace trampling upon armor; and the juxtaposition of Peace and Prosperity (which is discussed) in designs showing the cycle of history should have been mentioned. Jonson introduces Error "clad in mists." The precise analogue is Falsehood with a head covering of clouds on the title page of Francis White's

Reply to Jesuit Fisher's Answer (1624). The entry "Disdain" badly needs a reference to Spenser.

At many places throughout the catalogue it is apparent that interesting and important parallels might have been noted had Professor Gilbert investigated more thoroughly the immense corpus of woodcuts, metal engravings, and etchings. In one of his plays Jonson actually has one character remind another of the "Venetian print" they had been looking at one day. There were many print-shops in Jacobean London, and though it is impossible to prove that Jonson frequented them, in all likelihood he did.

In addition to a long bibliography of pertinent authorities, there is a very interesting list of books accessible to Ben Jonson whence he might have drawn ideas for his symbolic persons. In this list items are starred where there is any evidence that the poet was actually acquainted with the work.

The large number of excellently reproduced illustrations (including a few paintings and tapestries but chiefly woodcuts and engravings) adds greatly to the interest of this learned book.

S. C. CHEW

Bryn Mawr College

Das sprachliche Kunstwerk. Eine Einführung in die Literaturwissenschaft. Von WOLFGANG KAYSER. Bern: A. Francke, 1948. Pp. 438.

Die Hauptschwierigkeit einer solchen 'Einführung' besteht darin, dass sie sich über ein immenses Feld ausbreiten muß, dabei aber weder an der Oberfläche bleiben noch in die Enge und Tiefe der Spezialfragen hineintreiben darf; ihr wichtigstes Instrument ist der Feldstecher, ihr verbotenstes das Mikroskop und die Sonde. Das Buch ist geglückt, es gibt nicht nur dem Studenten einen klaren Überblick über die Problemfülle und die Methoden zu deren Bewältigung, es hilft auch dem Spezialisten zur raschen Orientierung in Nachbargebieten, mit denen er nicht genau vertraut ist. Wenn also z. B. in einem Kapitel über den *Vers* nicht viel mehr gegeben wird als die verzwickte Terminologie und alle Elementarien, so ist das völlig hinreichend und zweckentsprechend, wenn auch ein solches Unternehmen nicht als 'Grundbegriffe des Verses' etikettiert sein sollte, da doch das Gründliche und auf den Grund Gehende ausgeschlossen ist. Bedenklicher ist die (pädagogisch gebotene?) Apodiktik der Feststellungen, die dem Lernenden eine Sicherheit unseres Wissens vorspiegelt, von der nun doch keine Rede sein kann. Ich beschränke mich im Folgenden auf die zwei Seiten 96 und 97 und finde folgendes:

1. "Aus dem Italienischen stammt die Gedichtform, die von allen die wichtigste werden sollte: das Sonett."

Strittig! Für seine arabisch-maurische Herkunft spricht recht viel; und zum Mindesten hat es die provençalische Poesie früher als die italienische.

2. "Der Endreim drang aus der frühmittelalterlichen lateinischen Hymnik in die europäischen Literaturen."

Falsch! Selbst wenn Gorgias hier ausser Betracht bleiben darf, Commodianus lebte und reimte um 270 n. Chr., und der hundert Jahre jüngere Ambrosius gehört in jedem Betracht der Spätantike an, nicht dem Frühmittelalter.

3. "Die Übereinstimmung auch der Konsonanten, die in der Tonsilbe vor dem Vokal stehen, . . . gilt in den germanischen Sprachen als Rührender Reim; er wirkt abstossend und gilt als schwerer Fehler."

Falsch! Die germanischen Sprachen verfahren zu verschiedenen Zeiten verschieden. Und was grade das form-empfindliche MHD. angeht, so findet man Belehrung über die erlaubten Fälle bei vKraus, *ZsfdA.* LVI (1917), 1-76.

Ein paar Seiten später, auf S. 99, verlangt eine Feststellung wie die, dass ein Reim von *Haselin: Mägdelein*; *bin: Wein* "seine Herkunft aus einer Zeit erweise, da das lange *i* noch nicht zu *ei* diphthongiert worden war" Zurückweisung, da es ja Mundarten gibt, die bis heute noch nicht, andere, die von Anfang der literarischen Überlieferung an schon diphthongiert hatten. Die Frage ist keine rein chronologische, sondern zugleich eine dialektgeographische.—Ich darf in dieser Art nicht weiter fortfahren, um nicht den Eindruck zu erwecken, das Buch nehme es mit den Details der Literaturwissenschaft nicht genau genug. In Wirklichkeit sind alle Verstösse dadurch harmlos gemacht, daß eine 30 Seiten umfassende gewissenhafte Bibliographie alles verzeichnet, was zu zusätzlichen Auskünften heranzuziehen ist. Kayser, der sich sowohl in germanischen wie romanischen Literaturen auskennt, hat natürlich nicht überall auf diesem unabsehbaren Felde gleiche Detailkenntnis. Ich halte es ihm gerne zu gute, dass er der Quellenforschung etwas ablehnend gegenüber steht, was doch für die ihm ferner liegende Ältere Zeit nicht am Platze ist. Was ist denn die jüngste, auch von Kayser bewunderte Topos-Forschung anderes als die verpönte Quellenuntersuchung des 19. Jahrhunderts? Nur dass ein Mann wie E. R. Curtius durch die Breite seiner Belesenheit und die Intensität einer Methode, die sich die synthetische Betrachtung zum Ausgangspunkt setzt, reichere Resultate erringt als seine unbeholfenen Vorläufer. Ebenso wichtig wie die Topos-Forschung scheint mir die in das nützliche Buch noch nicht aufgenommene Dichtungsmorphologie, ein viel versprechendes neues Kapitel der Literatur-Betrachtung ('Kunst—eine andere Natur'), dessen erste Ergebnisse Günther Müller verschiedentlich vorgelegt hat. Aber statt zu sagen, wo ich als Fachmann Mangelhaftes fand, drängt es mich zu bestätigen, daß ich als Lernender häufigst Belehrung fand.

ARNO SCHIROKAUER

Über die Herkunft der Nordfriesen. Von PETER JØRGENSEN. København: Ejnar Munksgaard, 1946. Pp. 162. Kr. 16.—
[= Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab. Hist.-Filol. Meddelelser xxx. 5].

Es ist nicht die Schuld des Verfassers, daß seine umsichtig angelegte Untersuchung zu so mageren Ergebnissen führt, daß der Titel des Buches sich kaum noch rechtfertigen läßt: Die nördlichsten Nord-Westgermanen, gewöhnlich Nordfriesen genannt, sitzen schon zu Beginn der historischen Dokumentierbarkeit in Nordfriesland, dessen Gestalt sich im Lauf der zwei Jahrtausende etwa so änderte wie die seiner Bewohner; das Meer trug ab und zu,—gleich dem Fluß der Geschichte.

Das ist freilich ein nicht zu erheblicher Ertrag einer Arbeit und stünde ganz ausser Verhältnis zu ihrer bewundernswerten Technik, wäre nicht grade das Methodische so aussergewöhnlich beachtlich. Zunächst gibt Jørgensen eine aufschlußreiche Geschichte der Forschung und stellt in ihre Mitte die Auseinandersetzung mit der Ambronon-Theorie, wobei sich ergibt, daß die nordfriesische Heimat der Ambronon äusserst fragwürdig ist: *Amrum*, dem ein altes **Am(b)rono-heim* zu grunde liegen mag, ist ein mehrdeutiges Zeugnis, weil in Siedlungsnamen nicht Völker-, sondern Personen-namen zu erscheinen pflegen, wozu obendrein noch kommt, daß vor 1231 kein Beleg für *Ambrum* beizubringen ist. Und wie alte Namen der Landschaft wirklich lauten, zeigen Wörter wie *Sylt* und *Föhr*. Gradezu vorbildlich ist dann die Auseinandersetzung mit den ethnischen und folkloristischen Beweisstücken einer romantisierenden Forschung, wobei sich Schritt für Schritt und Schlag auf Schlag ergibt, daß weder Sagengeschichte noch Hausbau, weder Staats- noch Privatrecht noch Agrarverfassung, weder Anthropologie noch Archäologie Licht in das Dunkel bringen können. Das kann—in den Augen des Sprachforschers Jørgensen—allein die Orts- und Flurnamenforschung. Hier habe ich allerdings das Empfinden, daß der Verfasser sich seiner sonst so meisterhaft geübten Skepsis begibt; das Material, das nach dem Ausscheiden alles Unsicheren noch übrigbleibt, ist denn doch zu dürftig, als daß sich weitgehend darauf bauen liesse. Genügen vier dänische Entlehnungen in nordfriesischen Siedlungsnamen für die Annahme, daß die Nordfriesen im 8. Jahrhundert schon da waren, wo sie heute sind?—Nicht daß ich an der Tatsache zweifle (für die es solidere Beweise gibt), sondern nur an ihrer Beweisbarkeit aus einem Material, das vielleicht in die Geschichte der dänischen Wanderungen gehört. Wir wissen doch, daß kurz nach 800 die Dänen im Norden Sylts Fuß fassten.

Doch möchte ich gleich wieder betonen, daß die Analyse der Suffixe der Ortsnamen—(*h*)*um*, *büll*, *büttl*, *ing*, *wort*, *lev*—ein Muster an sauberer Methode darstellt; wie das Buch überhaupt vor allem studiert werden sollte wegen seiner Anlage und prinzipiellen

Haltung. "Die Herkunft der Nordfriesen" bleibt dabei einigermaßen im Dunkel. Sie waren Westgermanen, aber im frühen Kulturverband mit den Nordgermanen Jütlands und Schleswigs. Sie teilten wohl das Schicksal der Grenzer und wurden mal von dänischen, mal von südfriesischen Invasionen betroffen. Das linguistische Ergebnis ist, daß ihre Sprache sich zusammensetzt aus dem Nord-Westgermanischen der Urbewohner, dessen Kern durchaus nicht 'friesisch' war, und der tatsächlich friesischen Sprache der südländischen Eindringlinge. Mit den 'Nordseegermanen' F. Maurers, Adolf Bachs, Schwantes und anderer Schwärmer ist es also nichts. Jørgensen hat die Elemente einer dialektischen Kombination ganz klar gelegt, die im Übrigen heute fast nur historisches Interesse beansprucht; denn zwischen Platt und Hochdeutsch aufgerieben ist dem ursprünglichen Sprachgebiet schon mehr als die Hälfte verloren gegangen.

ARNO SCHIROKAUER

Tragische Literaturgeschichte. Von WALTER MUSCHG, Bern. 1948. 470 pp.

In den ersten Stücken dieses umfänglichen Werkes stellt Muschg die verschiedenen dichterischen Typen innerhalb der abendländischen Literatur historisch dar (die Zauberer, Seher, Priester, Sänger, Poeten, Bürger und Vaganten—um seiner Terminologie zu folgen), um dann des weiteren die ihnen aus ihrem innersten Wesen erwachsenden Schicksale ebenso typenhaft zu entwickeln. Geleugnet werden soll keinesfalls, daß ein umfangreiches Wissen in die Abfassung dieses Buches gegangen ist, das—wenn es gelungen wäre—zu so etwas wie einer Soziologie des Dichtertums hätte werden können. Muschg aber hat, bewußt oder unbewußt, versucht, mit Friedell zu konkurrieren, ohne dazu dessen Geist und oft geradezu geniales Darstellungsvermögen mitzubringen. Immer wieder ist es Friedell gelungen (was man auch sonst von seiner Kulturgeschichte halten mag), auf Wesentliches vorzustößen, und aus der Anschauung dieses Wesenhaften Charakterisierungen zu geben, die in ihrer Art unvergleichlich sind. Nichts von all dem findet sich bei Muschg. Über eine Sammlung von Anekdoten, Bemerkungen und höchst dogmatischen Urteilen kommt er nirgendwo hinaus. Wenn sein Buch wirklich eine Literaturgeschichte wäre, dann hätte er demonstriert, daß man Literaturgeschichte schreiben kann, ohne sich mit Literatur im einzelnen zu beschäftigen. Das Schlimmste (und einem Manne von der Statur Muschgs nicht zu Verzeihende) ist aber die erschütternde Oberflächlichkeit, mit der hier geurteilt wird. Um davon einen Eindruck zu geben, müßte man ausführlicher aus dem Buch zitieren, als hier (aus Gründen des Raummangels) geschehen kann; statt dessen sei nur auf einiges hingewiesen: etwa auf das, was (auf S. 78) über Tolstoi

zu lesen steht, oder auf Bemerkungen wie die über Friedrich Schlegel ("Die vom Skeptizismus ausgehöhlten Literaten von der Art Friedrich Schlegels . . ."). Natürlich ist für Muschg traditionellerweise im 19. Jahrhundert alles schlechter als bei anderen Leuten—sogar die Liebe. Am tollsten und wirklich unverantwortlich geht es aber zu, wenn Muschg Gelegenheit findet auf Thomas Mann zu sprechen zu kommen. Da heißt es dann etwa: "Das bastardierte Dichtertum wird heute von Thomas Mann am erfolgreichsten repräsentiert," oder: "Wann hätte er je einen Gedanken zu verschenken gehabt?" oder: "Nietzsche gilt ihm noch immer als Weiser, Wagner als der Gipfel aller Musik"—Sätze, die beweisen, daß Muschg mit dem Werk Thomas Manns gar nicht genug vertraut ist, um hier den richtenden Engel zu spielen. Wäre es nicht vornehmer gewesen, sich mit der Erklärung zufrieden zu geben: Mann mag ich nicht. Auf anderes laufen Muschgs Behauptungen ohnehin nicht hinaus.—Tragische Literaturgeschichte? Komischer Literaturhistoriker.

WOLFGANG PAULSEN

Smith College

BRIEF MENTION

Einführung in die Poetik. Von JOSEF KÖRNER, Frankfurt a/M.: Verlag G. Schulte-Bulmke, 1949. Auf den 60 Seiten seiner *Einführung in die Poetik* hat Josef Körner einen erstaunlich vollständigen Überblick über die gesamte Poetik gegeben, der nicht nur dem Anfänger sondern auch dem Fachmann unschätzbare Dienste leisten kann. So unscheinbar diese kleine Veröffentlichung rein äußerlich auch zu sein scheint, bei näherer Betrachtung ergibt sich sofort, daß es sich hier—wie bei allen Arbeiten dieses großen Kenners—um eine sorgfältig durchdachte und im besten Sinne des Wortes "umfassende" Untersuchung und Darstellung handelt, die das Ergebnis langjähriger Beschäftigung mit Problemen der Formanalyse ist. In den drei Hauptteilen, "Stilistik," "Prosodik" und "Genetik", ist tatsächlich alles zusammengetragen worden, was zur Definition und Deutung dichterischer Formen als unumgängliches Handwerkszeug angesehen werden muß. Darüber hinaus gibt die Darstellung, bei aller Knappheit, wichtige Aufschlüsse über die Geschichte der Formen, bis hinein in die modernste Literatur. Das Lapidare der Aufzählungen und Erläuterungen wird durch eine Fülle von Beispielen und Belegen gelockert, und in einem bibliographischen Anhang ist die internationale Literatur zum Thema Poetik und Aesthetik übersichtlich zusammengestellt worden. Das kleine Buch kann nicht dringend genug empfohlen werden.

WOLFGANG PAULSEN

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Herman Melville: Piazza Tales. Edited by EGBERT S. OLIVER. New York: Hendricks House, Farrar Straus, 1948. Pp. xii + 250. \$3.50. In this volume, the second to appear in the projected series of Melville's complete works, the problem of reconciling the demands of both a scholarly and a trade edition has still not been entirely solved. The specialist will find Professor Oliver's critical notes not full enough for definitive annotation, and the general reader will find many entries unnecessarily detailed and peripheral. Yet both will find brought together much interesting material that is otherwise scattered in journals, as well as useful and satisfactorily thorough amplification of the personal, local, and literary allusions in the stories.

Mr. Oliver indicates the significance of the known sources for "Benito Cereno" and "The Encantadas" and includes, notably, a generous portion of the illuminating Delano account from which Melville evolved "Cereno." He makes helpful suggestions toward the interpretation of "Bartleby," "Cereno," "The Lightning-Rod Man," and "The Bell-Tower"; it is to be regretted, however, that he did not choose to handle these problems in less fragmentary fashion by means of brief critical essays.

Finally, the edition has the virtue of making available, in a volume attractively printed and bound, several tales which deserve wider distribution and attention than they have had.

JAMES APPLGATE

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Heaven upon Earth and Characters of Vertues and Vices. By JOSEPH HALL, D. D. Edited, with an introduction and notes by RUDOLF KIRK. New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers Press, 1948. Pp. xiii + 214. One plate. \$5.00. In this pleasantly printed volume Professor Kirk has given us a text of Hall's *Characters* and of *Heaven upon Earth*; the former work has been difficult to obtain for a long time and the latter is an excellent example of seventeenth-century pseudo-Senecanism. The edition is prefaced by a series of essays of which the one on Hall's Neostoicism is probably the best. Professor Kirk shows rare judgment in distinguishing between the Seneca of Seneca and the Seneca of Hall. The text is a type-writer facsimile, and it is possible, since we have no Hall MS, that a modernized text might have been better. The notes are clear and economical. "That monster of Caesars" (p. 111) is probably Nero.

D. C. A.

CORRESPONDENCE

NOTES ON THE EARTHQUAKE IN *ROMEO AND JULIET*

In suggesting that the reference in *Romeo and Juliet* to an earthquake (I, iii, 23) may point to the earthquake of March 1, 1584, Sidney Thomas has opened up a fresh approach to an old problem;¹ but he might have gone further, I think, in conjectures about Shakespeare's use of the event. If it can be shown that this earthquake affected Verona or a neighboring region and that Shakespeare had knowledge of its geographical range, why may we not assume that it belongs to the place of the action in the drama? Certain records prove that the disturbance was felt over a wide area, including Burgundy, Dauphiny, the whole of Switzerland, and Piedmont, and that shocks continued for a period of ten days.² Terrifying reports from these places doubtless spread to Verona, in northern Italy, and they must have furnished material for endless gossip. Apparently neither the earthquake of April 6, 1580, nor that of May 1 in the same year was felt anywhere near Verona; and one in Naples and its vicinity on May 1, 1582, was of slight moment.³ The question, then, as to whether the earthquake of 1584 can throw any light on the date of *Romeo and Juliet* invites additional investigation.

If an earthquake in England is of greater importance than one elsewhere, however, we should consider—for what the evidence may be worth—two landslips noted by English chroniclers. One of these occurred in Blackmore, Dorsetshire, on Jan. 13, 1583, when three acres of land were shifted for six hundred feet and a great pit left.⁴ The other was a sinking of the earth that produced a very deep hole eighty yards in circumference; it took place on Aug. 4, 1585, at Motingham, in Kent, eight miles from London, and it caused intense local excitement.⁵ The date of the latter—that is, the month and day—may be significant, for August 4 is very close to "Lammas eve" (July 31) in the Nurse's speech (I, iii, 21). These landslips do not, it is true, compare in magnitude with the earthquake of 1580 in London nor that of 1584 on the continent; nevertheless, a more complete study of earthquakes and similar phenomena from 1580 to 1585, in England, Italy, and regions adjacent to Italy, might yield unexpected results.

SARAH DODSON

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¹ "The Earthquake in *Romeo and Juliet*," *MLN*, LXIV, No. 6 (June, 1949), 417-419.

² Robert Mallet, "Catalogue of Recorded Earthquakes from 1606 B.C. to A.D. 1850" (First Part, p. 64), *Report of the Twenty-Second Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science* (1852), London, 1853.

³ Mallet, *op. cit.*, 63.

⁴ William Camden, *Historie of Elisabeth* (translated into English by Robert Norton), London, 1630, Third Book, 25; and John Stowe, *The Annales or General Chronicles of England* (re-edited by Edmond Howes), London, 1615, 695. See also Mallet, *op. cit.*, 64.

⁵ Stowe, *op. cit.*, 709; and Raphaell Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland, and Ireland* (1808 printing), IV, 620.

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